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THE ANCIENT

EMPIRES OF THE EAST

THE ANCIENT EMPIRES OF THE EAST

BY

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PREFACE.

THE following chapters were written to accompany an edition of the first three books of Hêrodotos. The discoveries which have been pouring in upon us of late years from all parts of the oriental world have made it possible to test the value of our chief classical authority for the history of the ancient East, and at the same time to give some idea of what that history actually was. So rapid, indeed, has been the progress of research, that not only have the essays attached to Rawlinson's translation of Hêrodotos already become antiquated, but even François Lenormant's well-known *Manual of Ancient History* has long since needed to be re-written. The genial author, however, had scarcely begun the task when it was arrested by a premature death. The charming *Histoire ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient*, by Professor Maspero, has equally been left behind by the advance of science. Much in his account of Egypt requires to be modified, more still

in what he tells us of Assyria and Khaldæa, while the important part once played by the Hittite race is not as yet recognised. It is time, therefore, that stock should once more be taken of our present knowledge, and the ever-increasing mass of facts—many of them hidden away in obscure periodicals—be reduced to order and consistency.

This is the work that has been attempted in the following pages. The life and history of the ancient civilisations of the East has been sketched on the authority of the monuments they have themselves bequeathed to us. But while it pretends to be no more than a sketch, no detail of importance or interest has, I believe, been omitted. Some of these details are here published for the first time; and with most of them the author can claim a first-hand acquaintance. The text is unencumbered with references, partly because the larger part would have to be made to inscriptions (several of which are still unedited), partly because the statements that depend on the authority of classical or modern writers have been given in the notes to the Greek text of Hêrodotos. Those, therefore, who demand references must turn to the whole work of which this volume forms but the second part. I may add that in preparing it for the press in its present shape, a few misprints have been corrected, while two or three

changes and additions have been made which the progress of discovery during the past year has rendered necessary.

Before learning, however, what it is that the monuments have to teach us, we must form a clear idea of the worth of the information about the nations of the East, which we have received from classical antiquity. We need only compare the following chapters with a work on ancient history, like that of Rollin, founded entirely on the statements of Greek and Latin authors, to see how different—nay, how inconsistent they are. If the one is true, the other cannot be. If the record of the contemporaneous monument is correct, we must give up our faith in the legends of a later age, reported by writers who scorned to know an oriental language.

It was just this scorn which has caused the profound difference between the history of the East as told by the great writers of classical antiquity and by the native monuments themselves. The historians of Greece and Rome might have made themselves acquainted with the latter, if they had chosen. The Egyptian hieroglyphics were still written and read in the time of Decius, the cuneiform characters of Babylon were still employed in the age of Domitian. Long before either, the Egyptian records had been translated into Greek by the priest Manetho, and the Baby-

lonian records by the priest Bêrôsos. But Manetho and Bêrôsos were alike neglected by the literary world; they savoured too much of the "barbarian," and it was only a Jew like Jôsêphos, or orientalising Christians like Eusêbios, who made any use of them. Hêrodotos, eked out with excerpts from Ktêsias or Hekatæos of Abdêra, and expanded by compilers like Diodôros, continued to be the chief source of information on things eastern for the literary circles of Greece and Rome. Amid the wreck of the Roman Empire it was only an author who had many readers that had any chance of surviving. The few manuscripts which once contained the works of Manetho or Bêrôsos have long ago perished, and since the revival of learning the modern world has been forced to model its conception of the ancient East on the pages of Hêrodotos. What wonder, therefore, that Hêrodotos has received the proud title of "Father of History," or that classical scholars should resent any impugnment of the authority of a writer whose literary powers still exercise on them so great a charm?

But before the ground can be cleared for reconstructing the fabric of oriental antiquity from the remains it has itself left behind, it is absolutely necessary that the works of Hêrodotos and his followers should be set in their true light and esti-

mated at their true value. Hêrodotos cannot be accepted as a guide unless we are first assured that his historical information is trustworthy, and his literary honesty unimpeachable.

Whatever the cause or causes may have been, from the first he met with hostile criticism. Hardly had the generation for whom he wrote passed away before Thukydidês tacitly accused him of errors which the Attic historian corrected without even naming the author to whom they were due. While his statements on matters of Greek history were thus called in question by a writer of that very nationality whose deeds he had done so much to exalt, his history of the East was categorically declared to be false by Ktêsias, the physician of the Persian King Artaxerxês Mnêmôn. Born at Knidos, almost within sight of Halikarnassos, the birthplace of Hêrodotos, the position of Ktêsias gave him exceptional opportunities for ascertaining the true facts of Persian history; and his contemporaries naturally concluded that a critic who had lived long at the Persian Court, and had there consulted the parchment archives of Persia, was better informed than a mere tourist whose travels had never extended so far as the Persian capital, and who was obliged to depend upon ignorant dragomen for the information he retailed. The very fact, however, that Ktêsias considered Hêrodotos worthy of attack shows that the

latter already held a high rank in the Greek literary world, whatever opinion there might be as to the character and credibility of his writings. But the attack of Ktêsias produced its desired result; the work of Hêrodotos fell more and more into contempt and neglect; the florid rhetoric of Ephoros superseded it among the readers of a later day, and even the antiquarian philologists of Alexandria paid it no special attention. Manetho and Harpokratiôn wrote books to disprove the assertions of Hêrodotos; Theopompos, Strabo, Cicero, and Lucian challenged his veracity, and Jôsêphos declares that "all" Greek authors acknowledged him to have "lied in most of his assertions"; while the Pseudo-Plutarch went yet further, and composed a treatise on the malignity of Hêrodotos, in which he sought to prove that the misstatements of "the Father of History" were intentional distortions of fact. That with all this Hêrodotos continued to be read, and that his work escaped the wreck from which but a few fragments of his critic Ktêsias have been preserved, was due to the charm of his style.

A worse fate than hostile criticism had befallen the works of his predecessors—they were neglected and lost. Many of them had been laid by Hêrodotos under contribution, though he seldom refers to them, and usually contents himself with implicitly contradicting their statements, as Thukydidês subsequently

did in the case of his own. Foremost among these predecessors was Hekatæos of Milêtos, who had travelled in Egypt when the Persian conquest of the country first made it possible for a Persian subject like a Greek of Ionia to do so. Hekatæos penetrated as far south as Thebes, and the political circumstances of his time gave him opportunities of becoming acquainted with the country and its inhabitants which were denied to his successor Hêrodotos. Hêrodotos was a mere tourist, unable to speak the language of the country, and furnished with no introductions to cultivated natives. He was left to the mercies of Karian dragomen and the inferior servants of the temples, who were allowed to gain a little *bakshîsh* by showing them to inquisitive strangers. Hêrodotos dignifies them, indeed, with the name of priests; but the Egyptian priest did not speak the language of the Greek barbarian. Every traveller will know what a strange idea he would carry away with him of the history and character of the monuments he visits, and the manners and customs of the natives, if he had to depend on what he was told by his guides and *ciceroni.* How little Hêrodotos saw of the higher society of Egypt may be gathered, as Sir G. Wilkinson has noticed, from his assertions that the Egyptians drank only out of bronze cups, and did not eat wheaten bread.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the monuments have

proved decisively that the knowledge Hêrodotos possessed of Egyptian history was extremely slight. He himself admits that before the settlement of the Greeks in Egypt, in the time of Psammetikhos I., the history of the country was not "accurately" known. But even after that event it is dangerous to accept the statements of the Greek writer, unless they are confirmed by the monuments. The story of the madness of Kambysês and his wounding the bull Apis, short as the interval of time was that separated it from the visit of Hêrodotos, has been shown by the monuments themselves to be a fable of the guides. Before the age of Psammetikhos the place of history is taken by folk-tales, attached by the *ciceroni* to the monuments the traveller visited. The order of the royal names occurring in them has been determined by the order in which he saw the monuments and copied in his note-book the stories of the guides. As the pyramids of Gizeh were visited after the buildings of Memphis, the pyramid-builders, Kheops, Khephrên, and Mykerinos, are made to reign after Rhampsinitos or Ramses III., whom they really preceded by about three thousand years. But the "history" of Egypt as detailed by Hêrodotos is no further removed from the truth than his "history" of Assyria and Babylonia, or of the rise of the Persian empire. Myths and folk-lore, such as were current among the Greek loungers and

half-caste dragomen on the skirts of the Persian empire, have usurped the place of actual history, and have lent to the pages of the old Greek writer that charm of *naïveté* and confidential gossip, which still makes them delightful to read. But the loss of his History of Assyria, if it was ever written, need not be regretted; a writer who knows the legend of Sardanapallos, who calls Sennacherib king of the Arabs, and confounds Nebuchadrezzar with Nabonidos, must have had a very slight acquaintance with the real history of the Euphratean kingdoms.

Even the most stiff-necked opponents of Eastern learning have been forced to admit that the authority of Hêrodotos as an historian of the Orient is but small, though, in spite of this admission, they still not unfrequently make use of his unsupported assertions, or even oppose them to the revelations of the native records. Nevertheless, part of the accusation brought against him by ancient writers has been confessedly substantiated; the early history of the East, based on his version of it, has needed to be re-written. It only remains to enquire whether the second part of the accusation can be equally verified—whether Hêrodotos was not only mistaken, but dishonest.

The materials for answering this question have again been furnished by the discovery and decipherment of the contemporaneous monuments of Asia

and Egypt. Hêrodotos claims to report things at first hand, which, it can be shown, he must have derived from unacknowledged sources; he also claims an extent for his travels which they never had.

Porphyry tells us that there were three things which it was notorious he had stolen from Hekatæos—his descriptions of the hippopotamus, the crocodile, and the phœnix. Now the phœnix, he gives us to understand, was seen by himself painted on the walls of the temple of Heliopolis, but, as Prof. Wiedemann has pointed out, no two independent eyewitnesses could have imagined that the heron they saw drawn with Egyptian fidelity was intended for an eagle, and have described it accordingly. So, too, the assertion that the hippopotamus had the mane and voice of a horse only proves that "Hêrodotos had never seen the animal either dead or alive." If Hekatæos had already given these erroneous descriptions, he must have been simply copied by Hêrodotos. No two writers could have independently hit upon descriptions so discordant from the actual facts.[1]

Here, then, we have an affectation of first-hand knowledge, which was really second-hand. Hêrodotos

[1] Wiedemann has satisfactorily removed the doubts cast upon the authenticity of the fragments of Hekatæos (*Geschichte Ægyptens von Psammetich I. bis auf Alexander den Grossen*, p. 83).

has copied an older writer without acknowledgment, and has repeated the errors of his text, while endeavouring all the time to leave the impression on the reader's mind that they are the result of his own observation. This teaches us to be careful about accepting his testimony in other cases where he seems to claim the credit due to personal experience, but where we cannot test his statements so easily. Thus, to judge from the way in which he writes, he must have been a marvellous linguist, able to converse freely with Egyptians, Phœnicians, Arabians, Carthaginians, Babylonians, Skythians, Taurians, Kolkhians, Thrakians, Karians, Kaunians, and Persians. Yet when he ventures to explain words belonging to any of these languages he generally makes mistakes, and displays his total ignorance of them. In one passage he goes so far as to compare Egyptian and Kolkhian together, and pronounce them to be alike; but as he proceeds to say that the two populations resembled one another in having black skins and woolly hair, our faith in his judgment is considerably shaken. It is scarcely needful to observe that black skins and woolly hair are unknown among the inhabitants of the Caucasus, while the only black-skinned and woolly-haired people in Egypt were the negro slaves. How little he understood of the Egyptian language may be gathered from his assertion that it sounded like the chirping of

birds—an assertion, too, on which he builds an argument.

Perhaps the best illustration of an affectation of knowledge which really concealed ignorance is to be found in his allusions to an Egyptian god whose name he will not mention, he says, for religious reasons. The god is shown by the context to be Osiris; and, as Prof. Wiedemann was the first to remark, the only religious scruple the Greek traveller could have had against pronouncing the name of a deity which was constantly in every native's mouth, and was perpetually meeting his eyes on numberless monuments, must have been—ignorance. Hêrodotos or his authorities had not caught the name when taking notes, but, instead of confessing the fact, "the father of history" deliberately deceives his readers.

After this we need not be surprised if we find sufficient evidence that Hêrodotos never visited either Upper Egypt or Babylonia, as he implies was the case, and that consequently the information he gives about these countries cannot be reported at first hand. It must have surprised every one who goes to Egypt with Hêrodotos in his hand that while the Greek writer bestows such extravagant admiration upon the Labyrinth, he has not a word to say about the magnificent buildings of Thebes. When, however, we come to examine his text closely, we soon discover that in

his descriptions of Egyptian buildings he never ascends the river higher than the Fayûm. But Hekatæos, whom he wished to supplant, had been as far as Thebes, and it was therefore needful that Hêrodotos, too, should be thought to have been equally far. Hence it is that in one place he speaks of having come "as an eyewitness as far as the city of Elephantinê." In calling Elephantinê a city, however, instead of an island, he betrays his ignorance of the locality, which is further shown by his repeating a story that made the Nile rise in the same neighbourhood. Perhaps the most curious example of the mode in which he endeavours to insinuate that he, like Hekatæos, had visited Thebes, is a passage in which he contrasts his own wisdom and modesty with the ignorant vanity of the older historian, whom he here names for the first time. By a sort of verbal legerdemain he mixes together 345 statues seen by Hekatæos at Thebes two generations previously with 341 seen by himself at Memphis, and the confusion is so complete as to have imposed ever since on his commentators and readers.

That Hêrodotos could not have visited Babylonia is suggested by the geographical difficulties involved, as Mr. Bunbury has shown, in his description of the royal road from Sardes to Susa. No account is taken of the distance to be traversed between the Euphra-

tes and Tigris, and the march through Armenia is enormously exaggerated, while no one who had actually crossed the Gyndes could have believed, as Hêrodotos did, that it was dissipated by Kyros into 360 rivulets. In fact, a wrong situation altogether is assigned to this river by Hêrodotos, who supposes it to join the Tigris not far from the city of Opis. As he shows no acquaintance with any other way of reaching Babylonia, his comparative silence about such important and interesting countries as Syria and Assyria is well explained. But when he comes to speak about Babylonia itself, he makes slips which prove that he must be quoting the experiences of older authorities as though they were his own. Thus he calls Babylonia Assyria, and confuses the Baylonian with the Assyrian empire. Both statements would be natural in a writer who lived before the fall of Nineveh, when Babylonia was an Assyrian satrapy; but after that event they could not have been made by anyone who had actually been in the country. Not only had the Babylonian empire taken the place of the Assyrian empire, but the very name of Assyria was remembered only by antiquarians. Other assertions of Hêrodotos in regard to Babylonia are equally convincing to the Assyriologist. He fancies, for example, that rain falls but seldom there, the canals serving the same purpose as in Egypt; and he speaks of "immense stones"

being hewn in a country which is absolutely devoid of them. And yet, in spite of all these evidences to the contrary, he has endeavoured to produce the impression that his travels had actually extended as far as Babylon, and has been eminently successful in the attempt. When describing the great temple of Bel he refers to the words of the priests as if they had been addressed to himself, and even implies that he did not see the golden image of the god because it had been removed by Xerxês. The prevarication would have more easily escaped detection if he had said he did not see the temple itself as well as the image it contained, since the whole building had been destroyed by Xerxês at the same time that the statue was carried off. But unluckily Hêrodotos did not know this, and accordingly describes the temple at length, leaving it to be understood that he had carefully examined it himself.

Modern research, then, obliges us to endorse the judgment passed upon Hêrodotos almost as soon as his History was published: it is not only untrustworthy but unveracious. We cannot accept a statement made by the author, even where he seems to be describing his own personal experiences, unless it is verified by other and better testimony. The so-called history of the East and account of the oriental world, which classical literature has handed down

to us from him, is thus found to be poisoned at its fountainhead.

Let us not be unjust, however, to "the father of history." In what he did he in no way offended against the literary morality of his age and race. Just as in the decrepit civilisation of ancient Egypt, or in the Roman world of the second and third centuries, the surest mode of securing the popularity of a book was by ascribing it to some older writer, so among the growing Greek communities of the age of Hêrodotos it was the exactly opposite course which proved a passport to fame. To plagiarise from his predecessors whom he wished to supplant, to contradict them silently, to assume a knowledge they did not possess, was the recognised rule of the successful literary man. Hêrodotos seems to have been a greater sinner than most of his contemporaries, and to have provoked a greater amount of jealousy and criticism; that was all. Moreover, if we cannot extract oriental history from his pages, we can extract from them what is quite as valuable, since we cannot find it elsewhere. He has given us a collection of delightful folk-tales, which constitute almost the only record we have of the folk-lore of the eastern Mediterranean in the fifth century before our era. But apart from the folk-lore, the worth of what he tells us about things oriental is small indeed.

The compilers who followed him were even less careful than himself to collect at first-hand the information they retailed. Diodôros, it is true, incorporated in his account of Egypt the statements of Hekatæos of Abdêra, who made a lengthened stay in Upper Egypt in the time of the earlier Ptolemies, and, as Wiedemann has shown, must have been partially acquainted with the Egyptian language. Where Hekatæos, however, has not been his guide, Diodôros is no less untrustworthy than Hêrodotos. The case of Ktêsias, the critic of Hêrodotos, is not so clear, since fragments only remain of his writings, which are not always consistent with each other. But here, too, recent discoveries have helped us towards forming an opinion. They have proved that Ktêsias really derived his information from the "parchment" records of Persia, as he claims to have done, and that his history of Assyria consists for the most part of Assyro-Babylonian myths rationalised and transformed in the manner peculiar to the Persians. The *Shah-nameh* or book of kings of the great Persian poet, Firdusi, is a well-known illustration of this mode of restoring the past. If Hêrodotos has given us the dragomen's version of oriental history, Ktêsias gave the Persian version of it. When he came to deal with the history of Persia itself, however, Ktêsias naturally

entered upon surer ground. But even here his fragments show that his anxiety to convict Hêrodotos of error sometimes led him to put faith in statements which were either more incorrect than those of his predecessor, or equally far from the truth. On the other hand, many of his errors are due to a misunderstanding of his Persian authorities. Thus the name he assigns to the Magian Gaumáta is the title Sphendadates (*spenta-dâta*, "given to the holy one"); and as Duncker has pointed out, he has substituted the names of the sons of the seven conspirators who overthrew the Magian usurper for the names of the conspirators themselves.

We are thus compelled to turn from the great writers of Greece and Rome as from unsafe guides. The literary value of their works can never be depreciated, and for Western history their authority is supreme. But the Orientalist can never again go to them for instruction and argument with the faith of former generations; living witnesses, as it were, have started out of the grave of centuries to convict them of error and deceit. We have at last learned the true worth of "quicquid Græcia mendax Audet in historiâ."

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I.

EGYPT.

EGYPT, historically the oldest of countries, is geologically the youngest. It consists entirely of the soil deposited in comparatively recent times by the Nile. The triangle of the Delta marks the site of the ancient mouth of the river; and though the land has encroached upon the sea but slightly since the age of the Pharaohs, its height has year by year been slowly increasing. Some of the mouths of the river which were navigable streams in classical times have now ceased to be so; the Serbonian lake has in part become dry land, while desolate marshes are now cultivated fields. To the south of the Delta,—with the exception of the Fayûm, which owes its fertility to the canal called Bahr Yusûf, the former feeder of Lake Mœris,—Egypt is confined to the narrow strip of mud which lines both sides of the river, and is bounded by low hills of limestone, or the shifting sands of the desert. The Nile now flows for 1600 miles without receiving a single

tributary; the heated deserts on either bank absorb all the moisture of the air, and almost wholly prevent a rainfall, and it is consequently only where the waters of the river extend during the annual inundation, or where they can be dispersed by artificial irrigation, that cultivation and settled life are possible. This, however, was not always the case. The channels of rivers and water-courses that once fell into the Nile can still be traced on both sides of it, from the Delta to the Second Cataract; and the petrified forests that are found in the desert, one about five mile westward of the pyramids of Gizeh, and two others, an hour and a half and four hours to the east of Cairo, show that the desert was not always the barren waste that it now is. The *wadis*, or valleys, and cliffs are water-worn, and covered with boulders and pebbles, which bear witness to the former existence of mountain-torrents and a considerable amount of rain; and the discovery of palæolithic implements near the Little Petrified Forest, and in the breccia of Kurnah, at Thebes, as well as other geological indications, make it clear that the geographical and climatic changes the country has undergone have taken place since it was first inhabited by man.

It was long maintained that no traces of a prehistoric age existed in Egypt. Arcelin and the Vicomte de Murard, however, in 1868-9, discovered numerous relics of the neolithic age at Gizeh, El Kab, and the Biban el-Muluk, or Valley of the

Kings, at Thebes; and MM. Hamy and Fr. Lenormant in 1869 collected further specimens of the same early epoch. Since then neolithic implements and chippings have been found as far south as the Second Cataract, and more especially on the plateau which overlooks Helwan. Though the discovery was at first disputed by certain Egyptian scholars, who knew more of the Egyptian monuments than of prehistoric archæology, no reasonable doubts in regard to it can any longer exist.[1]

It is impossible to calculate the rate at which the deposit of Nile-mud is taking place, since the amount deposited varies from year to year, and the soil left by the inundation of one year may be entirely carried away by the next. Shafts were sunk in it in ninety-six different places at Memphis by Hekekyan Bey in 1851-4, and in one of them, near the colossal statute of Ramses II., a fragment of pottery was found at a depth of 39 feet under strata of soil which had been covered by sand from the desert. As the statue, which was erected in the fourteenth century B. C., is now ten feet below the

[1] Many of the neolithic flints belong to the historical age. Those found at Gizeh, for example, are associated with Roman remains, while the flint weapons in the neighbourhood of the Roman mud-brick fortress at Sheykh Gebel Embárak were probably the work of the wild tribes who destroyed it. The worked flints discovered by Gen. Pitt-Rivers in the breccia on the north side of the temple of Kurnah must be of great antiquity. See his and Mr. R. P. Greg's papers on the subject in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, x. 4, xi. 4 (May 1881, May 1882.)

surface, it would seem that the deposits have been increasing at the rate of 3·5 inches in each century, and that consequently the fragment of pottery is 13,530 years old. Such calculations, however, are exceedingly precarious, and at Heliopolis the alluvial soil has accumulated to a height of between 5 and 6 feet around the base of the obelisk erected by Usertasen I. (about B. C. 3000). All we can say is, that the Delta had no existence when the Nile was still fed by a number of tributaries, and flowed at a much higher level than it does at present.

In some places the river has left behind it evidence of its former level. Thus, at Abu-Simbel, a line of water-worn caves on either bank, just above the heads of the sitting figures of the great rock-cut temple, proves the depth of the channel it has scooped out for itself; while we can actually determine the date at which the First Cataract was removed from Gebel Silsileh, or Silsilis, to Assuân (Syênê), and the highest rise of the river in Ethiopia was 27 feet 3 inches above its rise at the present day. Certain inscriptions of the reign of Amen-em-hat III. of the twelfth dynasty, and of the fourth king of the thirteenth dynasty, found at Semneh (about thirty miles south of the Second Cataract), show that this was the level to which the inundation then reached, and that the plains of Ethiopia, which are now far above the fertilising reach of the river, were then annually inundated. Before the accession of the eighteenth dynasty, how-

ever, the catastrophe had happened; the Nile forsook its old channel, still very visible, to the south-east of Assuân, the First Cataract was formed, and the highest level of the inundation above it was that attained at present.

The earliest traces of man in Egypt since the country assumed its modern features are probably to be found in the stone implements already mentioned. There is no evidence to show that Egyptian civilisation was introduced from abroad; on the contrary, everything seems to point to its having been of indigenous growth. And the high perfection it had reached before the date of the earliest monuments with which we are acquainted implies unnumbered ages of previous development. The civilisations of the ancient world—of Egypt, of China, and of Babylonia—were all the creations of great rivers. Every attempt hitherto made to discover a primitive connection between them has failed.

Race.—The racial affinity of the ancient Egyptians is still an open question. It is certain, however, that after the age of the Old Empire the dominant race ceased to be pure. Thus, the Pharaohs of the twelfth dynasty seem to have had Nubian blood in their veins, the Phœnicians of the Delta have left descendants in the natives of Lake Menzaleh, and the long dominion of the Hyksos cannot but have affected the population of the country. Even the conquering princes of the eighteenth dynasty married foreign wives and peopled

Egypt with foreign captives; the twenty-fifth dynasty came from Ethiopia, and the Saites of the twenty-sixth were probably of Semitic, or, as Brugsch is inclined to think, of Libyan origin. At all events they introduced a new element, the Greek, into the population of Egypt. The type of features presented by the monuments of the Old Empire is essentially different from that presented by the monuments of a later period; and while Egyptian skulls earlier than the sixth dynasty are dolichocephalic, those subsequent to the close of the Old Empire are brachycephalic. The physiological type of the Egyptian of the Old Empire —of the founders, that is, of Egyptian art and civilisation—is that of a somewhat short, thick-set man, with massive, good-tempered mouth, smooth hair, full nostrils, broad forehead, and reddish-brown complexion. He belongs to what ethnologists have vaguely termed the Caucasian or Mediterranean stock. Up to the last the Egyptian showed no resemblance whatsoever to the negro, and the colour of his skin alone would effectually mark him off from the Nubian. On the other hand, the monuments draw a careful distinction between him and the Libyans, who are painted white or pale yellow. Language casts no light on the question, since linguistic relationship proves nothing more than that races speaking allied forms of speech were once in social contact with one another. Moreover, the philological position of the Old Egyptian language presents many difficulties,

though it seems probable that either it or its parent-speech was the sister of the parent-speech of the modern Libyan, Haussa, and Galla dialects on the one side, and of the parent-speech of the Semitic idioms on the other. We may, if we like, class the Egyptians and their language as "Hamitic," but nothing is thereby explained. In fact, so far as our present materials and knowledge are concerned, the Egyptians were as autochthonous and isolated as their own civilisation.

Geography.—Egypt naturally falls into two divisions: the Delta, formed by the mouths of the Nile, in the north; and the land fertilised by the Nile, between the Delta and the First Cataract, in the south. Below Syene and the First Cataract we are in Nubia. At the apex of the triangle formed by the Delta stood Memphis, built by Menes upon the ground he had reclaimed from the Nile by constructing a dyke,—that of Kosheish,—the remains of which may still be detected near Mitrahenny, and so confining the river to its western channel. Older than Memphis was Tini or This, the birthplace of Menes, and in after times a mere suburb of the younger Abydos. Here was the tomb of Osiris, in the neighbourhood of which every Egyptian of sufficient wealth and dignity desired to be buried. The accumulated graves formed the huge mound now known as the Kom es-Sultân. About one hundred miles southward of This and Abydos stood Thebes, which under the Middle

Empire became the metropolis of Egypt, and attained its chief glory under the kings of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties. It is doubtful whether even a village stood on the spot in the time of the Old Empire; indeed, it is possible that the population of the district at that early epoch was still mainly Nubian. Subsequently, the town extended from the east to the west bank, where the temple and palace of Ramses III. (now Medinet Abu), the Memnonium or Ramesseum, —perhaps the tomb of Ramses II.,—and the temples built by Seti I. at Kurnah, by Queen Hatasu at Deir el-Bahri, and by Amenophis III. farther south, rose at the foot of the vast necropolis of the city. In the classical era Thebes gave its name to the southern half of Egypt. In the extreme south, on the Egyptian side of the First Cataract, was Suan, or Syênê, now Assuân, opposite to the island of Elephantinê, called Âb, "the elephant" isle, by the Egyptians, from which came the sixth dynasty. Two small islands southward of Elephantinê acquired the reputation of sanctity at least as early as the twelfth and thirteenth dynasties, and one of them, Senem, now Bigeh-Konosso, in the fourth and third centuries B. C., communicated its sanctity to the neighbouring island of Philæ. Philæ soon became the religious centre of Egypt, the reputed tomb of Osiris having been transferred to it after the decay of Abydos. The granite cliffs and boulders between Philæ and Syênê furnished the material for the obelisks, the sphinxes, the colossi,

and the other great monuments of the Egyptian monarchs; and the early date at which they worked may be gathered from the fact that the so-called granite-temple, close to the Sphinx of Gizeh, whose building may have preceded the reign of Menes, is constructed of blocks which must have been brought from Assuân.

Southward of the First Cataract was Nubia, and above that again Cush or Ethiopia. Nubia formed part of the kingdom of the sixth dynasty, while Usertasen III. fixed the boundaries of the empire at Semneh and Kummeh; and an Egyptian officer, entitled "the Prince of Kush," and first named in inscriptions of Thothmes I., whose capital was as far south as Napata, governed the country up to the age of the twenty-first dynasty. The most perfect remains of Pharaonic fortifications now existing are the fortresses of sun-dried brick erected by Thothmes III. at Kobbân, opposite Dakkeh, and on both sides of the river at Semneh, thirty-five miles south of the Second Cataract.

The division of Egypt into Upper and Lower dates from the age preceding Menes, the first known king, who united the two kingdoms (B. C. 5004). Lower Egypt, called To Meh or To Mera—"the northern country"—extended from the Mediterranean to Beni-Suef, and consequently included the marshes of the Delta, occupied in the time of the Old Empire by the long-forgotten hippopotamus, crocodile, and papyrus. It was defended from the attacks of the Amu or

Semitic tribes of Western Asia by a line of fortresses called Matsor in Hebrew (whence Mizraim, or "the two matsors,"—that is, Upper and Lower Egypt). The line stretched from Migdol in the north to the neighbourhood of Suez in the south, and was originally established by the founders of the eighteenth dynasty. The main channels through which the Nile flowed into the sea were seven,—the Pelusiac, Tanitic, Mendesian, Bukolic or Phatnitic, Sebennytic, Bolbitinic, and Kanopic,—of which two only are now navigable. The Kanopic branch, ten miles from the mouth of which Alexandria was founded under the auspices of Alexander the Great, is now represented by a marshy inlet near Abukir. In the eastern part of the Delta lay the land of Goshen, with its cities of Tanis or Zoan, Bubastis, Pharbæthus, Pithom, and On or Heliopolis (near Cairo), not far from which was the site now known as the Tel el-Yehudîyeh, where the Jewish priest Onias, with the aid of Ptolemy Philomêtôr, raised the rival temple to that of Jerusalem. From Tanis and Daphnæ to Pelusium the fortified high road led from Egypt to Palestine, along the edge of the Mediterranean. Upper Egypt, extending from Beni-Suef to Assuân, was known as To Kemâ, or To Res,—"the southern country,"—which, with the article *pa* prefixed, is the original of the Hebrew and Greek Pathros. Like Lower Egypt, it was divided into nomes or districts,—*hesoph* in Egyptian,—supposed to represent the numerous small states of the pre-historic

age out of which the historic Egypt was constituted. Each nome was subdivided into its *nut* or capital, its *uu* or cultivated land, fertilised by the Nile, the marsh lands (*pehu*), and the portion of cultivated land watered by canals. The civil and military administration of the nome was in the hands either of a hereditary governor (*hik*), or of a monarch (*mer-nut-zât-to*), appointed by the king. Under the Ptolemies these monarchs were usually termed στρατηγοί, presided over by an ἐπιστρατηγός; the religious affairs of the province being managed by the high priests of the principal temples assisted by a numerous staff of prophets, scribes, astrologers, and sacristans. At the same time the nome was further subdivided into a certain number of τοπαρχίαι, composed of groups of towns (τόποι) and villages.

The number of nomes varied at different periods. Thus the hieroglyphic list at Edfu mentions thirty-nine, nineteen being in Lower Egypt; while Diodôros (liv. 3) and Strabo (xxviii. 1, 3) reckon thirty-six.

LIST OF ANCIENT EGYPTIAN NOMES.

Upper Egypt.

Nomes.		Capitals.		
Egyptian.	Greek.	Egyptian.	Greek.	Arabic.
1. To Kens.	Ombites.	Abu (Elephantinê).	Ombos (Egn. Nubti) in the Roman period.	Geziret-Assuân, and Kôm Ombu.
2. Tes-Hor.	Apollinopolites.	Teb (Copt. Atbu). Khennu.	Apollinopolis Magna. Silsilis.	Edfu. Silsileh.
3. Ten.	Latopolites.	Nekheb. Sni.	Eileithyia. Latopolis.	El Kab. Esneh.
4. Uas.	Diospolites. Phatyrites. Hermonthites.	Ni-Amun or T-Apu, afterwards Her Mont (An Res an Munt).	Thebai (Diospolis Magna) Hermonthis.	Luxor-Karnak and Medinet Abu Erment.
5. Horui.	Koptites.	Kebti.	Koptos.	Kuft.
6. Emsuh(?).	Tentyrites.	Ta-rer or Ta-n-taru (or Ta-nutri, Copt. Pi Tentore.	Tentyris or Tentyra.	Denderah.
7. Ha-Sekhekh (Hut-sokhem).	Diospolites.	Ha or Hu.	Diospolis Parva.	Hû.
8. Tenai(?).	Thinites.	Teni, afterwards Ab-tu or Abud with suburb Sui.	This or Thinis, afterwards Abydos, suburb Ptolemais	Girgeh and Kharâbet el-Madfûneh.
9. Khem or Apu.	Panopolites.	Khem or Apu (Copt. Shmin).	Panopolis or Khemmis.	Akhmim.
10. Tuf.	Antæopolites.	Ni-ent-bak.	Antæopolis.	Gau el-Kebir.
11. Bâar.	Hypselites.	Shas-hotep (Copt. Shotp).	Hypselê.	Satb.
12. Atef Khent (Upper Atef).	Lykopolites.	Siaut (Copt. Siut).	Lykopolis.	Asyût.
13. Atef Pehu (Lower Atef).	Part of Lykopolites and Hermopolites.	Kus or Kast.	Khusai.	Kusiyeh.
14. Uaz.		Tebti.		
15. Unnu.	Hermopolites.	Sesunnu or Khimunu (Copt. Shmun).	Hermopolis.	Ashmunen.
16. Meh (or Sah).	North part of Hermopolites.	Hebennu or Hatuer (Copt. Tuho). Nofrus. Panubt. Menât-Khufu.	Theodosiopolis. Speos Artemidos.	Taha el-Medineh (?). Kûm el-Ahmar. Benni-Hassan. Minieh.
17. Anup.	Kynopolites.	Ko or Ha-Suten.	Kynopolis.	El-Kes.
18. Uab.	Oxyrrhinkhites.	Pa-Mâzat (Copt. Pemje). Sapt-moru.	Oxyrrhinkhos.	Behnesa.

UPPER EGYPT—*Continued.*

Nomes.		Capitals.		
Egyptian.	Greek.	Egyptian.	Greek.	Arabic.
19. Neht Khent.	Herakleopolites	Ha-Khnensu, or Pi-her-Shefni (Copt. Hnes).	Herakleopolis Magna.	Ahnâs el-Medîneh.
20. Pa.		Ha-bennu.	Hipponon.	?
21. Neht Peht, including (To-she or).	Arsinoites.	Meri Tum, or Meitum. Shed (Pi-Sebek).	? Krokodilopolis.	Mêdûm. Medinet el-Fayûm.
22. Matennu.	Aphroditopolites.	Pa Neb-tep-ahe.	Aphroditopolis.	Atfieh.

LOWER EGYPT.

1. Anbu-hat or Sebt-hat ("the white wall").	Memphites.	Men-nofer[1] ("good place")	Memphis.	Various villages.
2. Aa.	Letopolites.	Sekhem-t.	Letopolis and Kerkasoros.	?
3. Ament.	Nomos Libya.	Ni Ent Hapi.	Apis.	?
4. Sepi Res.	Saites.	Zoka.	Kanopos.	Near Abukir.
5. Sepi Emhit.	Saites.	Sai.	Sais.	Sâ el-Hager.
6. Ka-sit.	Xoites.	Khesauu.	Xois.	N.E. of Sais.
7. Ament.	?	Sonti-nofer.	Metelis.	?
8. . . . Abot.	Sethroites.	Pi-Tum (Pithom).	Heroopolis.	Tel el-Maskhuta.
9. At-pi.	Busirites.	P-Usir-Neb-tat.	Busiris.	Abusîr.
10. Ka-Kem.	Athribites.	Ha-ta-Hir-ab.	Athribis.	Tell Atrib.
11. Ka-Hebes.	Kabasities.	Ka-hebes.	Kabasos.	?
12. Ka-Theb.	Sebennytes Superior.	Theb en-Nuter.	Sebennytos.	Semennûd.
13. Hak-at.	Heliopolites.	Anu (On) and Pi-Ra.	Heliopolis.	Near Cairo.[2]
14. Khent Abot.	Tanites.	Zân (Zoan) or Zân pi-Ramses (Raamses).	Tanis.	Sân.
15. T-Hut.	Hermopolites.	Pi-T-hut.	Hermopolis.	?
16. Khar.	Mendesios.	Paba-Neb-tat or Tatu.	Mendes.	Tmey el-Amdid (?).
17. Sam-hut.	Diospolites.	Pi-khun en-Amun	Takhnamunis or Diospolis.	?
18. Am Khent.	Bubastites.	Pi-Bast.	Bubastis.	Tel Basta (Zagazig).
19. Am Pehu or Pa-To-Nuz.	Butikos or Phtheneotes.	Pa-Uz.	Buto.	?
20. Lapt.	Pharbæthites.	Sheten.	Pharbæthos.	Horbet.

[1] Contracted into Moph and Noph (modern Tel-Monf). Memphis was also called Kha-nofer, "the good appearance;" Makha-ta, "land of the scales;" and Ha-ka-Ptah, "house of worship of Ptah," whence perhaps the Greek Αἴγυπτος. The fortified part was named Anbuhat or "white wall." (See Thuk. i. 104).

[2] Brugsch would identify Heliopolis or Pi-Ra, on the north side of On, with Tel el-Yehudiyeh.

Chronology and History.—Egyptian chronology is full of difficulties, and without more materials than we possess at present can be little else than a system of guess-work. We must be content to date the period preceding the seventh century B. C. by dynasties rather than by years, All we can state with certainty is that the chronology, historically considered, is an enormously long one, and that the earlier dynasties must be placed at least 6000 years ago. Our authorities are partly classical, partly monumental. The most important is Manetho (in Egyptian Mei en-Tahuti—"Beloved of Thoth"), a priest of Sebennytos, who was intrusted by Ptolemy Philadelphus (B. C. 284-246) with the task of translating into Greek the historical works contained in the Egyptian temples. Unfortunately Manetho's work is lost, and we have to depend for our knowledge of it upon the meagre and sometimes contradictory extracts made by Josephus, Eusebius, Julius Africanus,[1] and George Syncellus.[2]

Eusebius and Africanus profess to give us Manetho's list of the Egyptian dynasties, with the length of time each lasted, and in many cases the names and regnal years of the monarchs of whom they were composed. The names and numbers, however,

[1] Bishop of Emmaus (Nikopolis) at the beginning of the third century. Only fragments of his work on Chronology in five books have been preserved. (See Routh, *Reliquiæ Sacræ*, ii.)

[2] *i. e.* the "cell-companion" of the Patriarch of Constantinople, A. D. 800. His work was continued from 285 down to 813 by Theophanes the Isaurian.

do not always correspond, nor does even the duration of certain dynasties agree with the totals of the reigns comprised in them, when added together. But what is most serious is, that the names of the kings, and the length of time they are said to have reigned, are not unfrequently irreconcilable with the statements of the monuments. Sometimes, too, reigns for which we have monumental evidence are omitted altogether. It is plain, therefore, that Manetho's list has come to us in a very corrupt condition, and that the numbers contained in it must be received with extreme caution. Moreover, the Christian writers who have handed them down were intent on reconciling the chronology of the Egyptian historian with that of the Old Testament, and were consequently likely to curtail it as much as possible. Nevertheless, in the want of other authorities, all attempts to restore Egyptian chronology must be based upon this imperfect reproduction of Manetho, to whom, it may be observed, the distribution of the kings into dynasties is due. That Manetho himself faithfully reported the evidence of the monuments —or rather, perhaps, of the native histories compiled from them—has been abundantly proved by the decipherment of the inscriptions. His statements, notwithstanding the imperfect state in which they have reached us, are in the main correct. The monumental names can generally be detected under their Greek disguises, the scheme of dynasties has

received full confirmation, and the chronology of the Sebennytic priest seems rather to err on the side of defect than of excess. Startled by the long chronology Manetho's list necessitates, Egyptian scholars formerly imagined that several of the dynasties were contemporaneous. M. Mariette's researches, however, have shown that this is not the case. Thus the theory which made the fifth dynasty reign at Elephantinê, while the sixth was reigning at Memphis, has been overthrown by the discovery of monuments belonging to the two dynasties in both places; and the discovery of the colossi of the thirteenth Theban dynasty at Sân or Tanis, near Xois, upsets the scheme according to which this dynasty was contemporaneous with the Xoites of the fourteenth. In fact, as M. Mariette says, if the lists of Manetho "contain collateral dynasties, we should find in them, before or after the twenty-first, the dynasty of high-priests which (as we learn from the monuments) reigned at Thebes, while the twenty-first occupied Tanis; in the same way we should have to reckon before or after the twenty-third the seven or eight independent kings who were contemporary with it, and who ought, if Manetho had not disregarded them, to have added so many successive royal families to the list of the Egyptian priest; similarly the 'dodecarchy' would count, at least, as one dynasty coming between the twenty-fifth and the twenty-sixth; and finally, the Theban princes, the rivals of the Shepherds, would

take their place before or after the seventeenth."[1] There were several periods in the history of Egypt, it is true, when more than one line of kings was ruling in the country; but it is clear that either Manetho or his epitomisers struck out all except the one line which was considered legitimate, and so drew up a catalogue of successive dynasties.

It is probable, however, that gaps occur between some of the latter. If at any period there was no dynasty which the Egyptian priests considered legitimate, it would necessarily be passed over in the annals of Manetho. Indeed, of one such period we have actual proof. No mention is made by Manetho of the so-called dodecarchy, when, for more than twenty years, Egypt was under the dominion of Assyria. The twenty-sixth dynasty is made to follow immediately upon the twenty-fifth. And there is no reason to think that this is an isolated case. The interval of 750 years, for instance, which, according to Africanus, intervened between the close of the Old Empire with the sixth dynasty, and the rise of the Middle Empire with the eleventh, seems hardly sufficient to account for the changes undergone by Egypt and its people during the time, and the interval is still further reduced to 391 or 466 years by Eusebius.

Reigns, too, have dropped out of the list in many places; thus, to take only the earlier dynasties,

[1] *Aperçu de l'Histoire ancienne d'Égypte*, p. 67.

Noferkara or Nebkara is omitted in the third; Ratat-ef, the successor of Kheops, in the fourth; and Keka in the fifth. The efforts of Eusebius to shorten the chronology make his excerpts less trustworthy than those of Africanus; Kheneres, for instance, the Tefa or Hutefa of the tablet of Sakkârah, is omitted by him at the end of the second dynasty (though he makes Nepherkheres or Noferkafra the seventh and not the fifth successor of Binothris or Bainuter), and an example of the way in which he reduces the number of regnal years has already been noticed.

In commemorating the earlier monarchs of the country the priests of the various temples compiled selected lists of them. Thus at Abydos Seti I. is represented as honouring the spirits of sixty-five of his predecessors, beginning with Menes and ending with the last king of the twelfth dynasty, the kings of the eighteenth dynasty, who are made to follow immediately, being reckoned as twelve. At Karnak, again, Thothmes III. is pictured making offerings to the images of sixty-one of his predecessors; while a second list of kings, discovered at Abydos, in the temple of Ramses II., repeats the list given by Seti, with a few omissions. At Sakkârah, too, in the tomb of a priest named Tunari, who flourished under Ramses II., we see the dead man admitted to eternal life in the presence of fifty-eight of the earlier kings of Egypt. The principles upon which these

selected lists were drawn up are still unknown to us. Certain prominent kings, such as Menes, the founder of the empire, or Kheops, the builder of the great pyramid, occur in them all, but in other parts of the lists the names chosen are different. Possibly the priests selected those monarchs who were reputed to have been benefactors to the particular shrines in which the lists are found; more probably the deceased is brought into spiritual relation with those who in some special way were supposed to have been his ancestors. At all events, it is one of these selected temple-lists that is embodied in the catalogue of thirty-eight "Theban" kings extracted from the Greek mathematician Eratosthenês (B.C. 276–194) by Christian writers. The introductory sentence, which calls Menes a Theban, shows plainly the source from which it was derived.[1]

A sketch of Egyptian history is given by Diodôros, who probably derived it from Ephoros. The sketch is on the whole fairly accurate, though the blunder of Hêrodotos is repeated, which placed Kheops, Khephren, and Mykerinos 2000 years too late. Hêrodotos (see Introd.) derived his information as to earlier Egyptian history from the inventive ignorance of half-caste *ciceroni*, so that we need not wonder at its utter incompatibility with the truth. In saying, however,

[1] The list of Eratosthenês, in which an attempt is made to give the meaning of the royal names, was edited by Apollodôros of Athens (about B.C. 140).

that the 341 generations of kings who preceded Sethos extended over 11,340 years, the Greek historian has made a gratuitous mistake of his own; not only is his arithmetic at fault, but he has confounded together reigns and generations.

It is possible that the sources from which Manetho composed his history may yet be recovered. What they were we may gather from the famous Turin papyrus, written in the time of Ramses II., and found probably in a tomb at Thebes. The carelessness of the natives who discovered it, and of the Europeans who brought it home, has unfortunately shivered it into more than 160 minute fragments, many of which it is impossible to put in their right places. In spite of this horribly mutilated condition, the papyrus is nevertheless of the highest value. A considerable number of royal names are preserved, many of them otherwise unknown, as well as the years and months each king reigned. With a complete papyrus of this kind we should be able to restore the whole skeleton of Egyptian history.

Like the histories of all other great nations, this history begins with its mythical age. The first dynasty of prehistoric Egypt was believed to have consisted of the gods. Each temple had its own peculiar list of these divine monarchs, in which its presiding deity took the first place. Thus at Memphis the dynasty of gods was composed as follows:—(1) Ptah or Hephæstos, "the father of the gods;"

(2) Ra, the Sun-god, his son; (3) Shu (Agathodæmon), the Air-god, his son; (4) Seb, the earth, his son; (5) Osiris, his son; (6) Set (Typhon), the son of Seb; (7) Horos, "the redeemer," the son of Osiris. At Thebes, on the other hand, the order was: (1) Amun-Ra, "the king of the gods;" (2) Mont, his son; (3) Shu, the son of Ra; (4) Seb, his son; (5) Osiris, his son; (6) Horos, his son; Set, the evil principle, not being reckoned among the legitimate rulers. Next to these royal gods came the Hor-shesu, or "successors of Horos," divided by Manetho into the two dynasties of demi-gods and Manes; among the latter, according to the Turin papyrus, being the sacred animals, the Apis of Memphis and the Mnêvis of On. The reign of the Manes closed the mythical age of Egypt; they were followed by Menes of This, the founder of the united monarchy and the leader of the historical dynasties.

Modern research, however, has caught glimpses of the epoch which preceded the age of Menes, and was relegated by the Egyptian scribes to the reigns of the mysterious Hor-shesu. The country of the Nile was then divided into a number of small kingdoms, inhabited by a race similar in origin and customs, and already possessed of a considerable civilisation. The so-called granite temple, near the Sphinx of Gizeh, built of huge monoliths of Syenite granite, exquisitely cut and polished and fitted together, perhaps belongs to this remote period. It must have originally been a tomb, but when it was discovered in the sand in the

time of Kheops, the builder of the great pyramid, the king seems to have imagined it to be the shrine of Harmachis,[1] the Sphinx. The building carries us back to an age when neither cement nor sculpture nor writing was known; but even at that remote date the principles of architecture had been studied, and the chieftain who lived on the edge of the Delta was able to have huge blocks of granite cut and transported for him from the distant quarries of Assuân. The Sphinx itself probably belongs to the same early time. At all events it was already in existence in the age of Khephren and the fourth dynasty, and no mention is made of its construction in the excerpts from Manetho.

Whoever has seen the rich plain in which the city of This once stood will easily understand how it was that the founder of the united monarchy came from thence. The plain is at once one of the largest and most fertile of those in the valley of the Nile, while it is protected from attack on three sides by the Libyan hills, and on the fourth side by the river. Everything was in favour of the progress of its inhabitants in wealth and power. At any rate, it was from here, from the precincts of the tomb of Osiris himself, that Menes or Mena, "the constant," made his way north-

[1] Egyptian Hor-em-khuti, "the sun on the horizon." In the inscription, which states that Khufu found a temple of Isis beside the temple of the Sphinx, the Sphinx is called Hu. The inscription, though probably dating from the age of the twenty-first dynasty, is a copy of an older text. But see Fl. Petric, *Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh*, pp. 133-157.

wards, passing on his road the ancient kingdoms of Ni ent-Bak (Antæopolis) and Sesunnu (Hermopolis), where Horus had defeated and slain his enemy Set, with the aid of Thoth. At last he established himself in the near neighbourhood of the Sphinx, which may possibly record his deeds and features, and by means of the great dyke of Kosheish won the land from the Nile whereon to build his capital, Men-nofer or Memphis.

The date to which this event was assigned by Manetho has, for reasons already given, been variously computed. Boeckh makes it B.C. 5702, Unger 5613, Mariette 5004, Brugsch 4455, Lauth 4157, Pessl 3917, Lepsius 3892, and Bunsen 3623.

We shall provisionally adopt the dates of Mariette, whose long-continued excavations in Egypt have given him an exceptional authority to speak upon the matter; but those who have sailed up the Nile, and observed the various phases through which Egyptian art has passed will be inclined to think that he has rather fallen short of the mark than gone beyond it.

Menes, we are told, undertook a campaign against the Libyans, and after a reign of sixty-two years was eaten by a crocodile (or hippopotamus), a legend which may have originated in the belief that Set, the enemy of order and government, revenged himself upon the successor of the royal Osiris. Teta, who followed him, was said to have written treatises upon medicine and anatomy, and the medical papyrus of Ebers con-

tains a chapter which was supposed to have been "discovered" in his reign, while the sixty-fourth chapter of the Book of the Dead was ascribed to the same date. The only other noteworthy king of the first dynasty was Uenephes, the builder in all probability of the so-called step-pyramid of Sakkârah. The second king of the second dynasty, Kakau or Kaiekhos, established or more probably regulated the worship of the bulls Apis and Mnêvis, and the goat of Mendes. After him Bainuter or Binothris laid down that women as well as men might henceforward inherit the throne.

With the death of the last king of the second dynasty (B.C. 4449) the line of Menes seems to have come to an end. It had succeeded in welding the whole country together, and suppressing those collateral princes whose names are occasionally met with on the monuments. The third dynasty was Memphite. To it belongs Snefru or Sephuris (B.C. 4290-4260), whose inscriptions in the Wady Magharah tell us that the turquoise-mines of Sinai were worked for his benefit, and guarded by Egyptian soldiers. The lofty pyramid of Meidûm is his tomb, close to which are the sepulchres of his princes and officials, still brilliant with coloured mosaic-work of pictures and hieroglyphics.

But it is the era of the fourth dynasty that is emphatically the building era. The pyramid-tombs of Khufu (Kheops), Khafra (Khephren), and Men-ka-ra (Mykerinos or Menkheres), in the necropolis of Mem-

phis, still excite the astonishment of mankind by their size and solidity. "The great pyramid" of Gizeh, with its two companions, towers like a mountain above the sandy plain, and neither the ruin of six thousand years nor the builders of Cairo have been able to destroy them. Khufu and Khafra, whose impiety was one of the "traveller's tales" told to Hêrodotos by his ignorant guides, were separated from each other by the reign of Tat-ef-Ra or Ra-tatf, who was possibly the son of Khufu, "the long-haired," and the brother of Khafra. The statue of Khafra, of hard diorite, found by M. Mariette, and preserved in the Museum of Bûlak, is one of the most beautiful and realistic specimens of Egyptian art, characteristic of its early phase, and illustrating the features of the Egyptians of the Old Empire. Men-ka-ra was followed by Ases-ka-f, the Asykhis of Hêrodotos, who built the pyramid of brick, and was, according to Diodôros, one of the five great lawgivers of Egypt. After a few more reigns, the fifth dynasty succeeds to the fourth, and we pass to the age of Ti, whose tomb at Sakkârah is among the choicest of Egyptian monuments. Its walls of white stone are covered with delicate sculptures, brilliantly coloured, and resembling the most exquisite embroidery on stone. They trace for us the scenes of Ti's life: here he is superintending his labourers in the field; here he is watching a party of carpenters or shipbuilders; here, again, he is hunting hippopotami among the papyri of the Delta, while

a kingfisher hard-by is seeking, with loud cries and outstretched wings, to drive a crocodile from her young. The kings of the fifth dynasty introduced the fashion of adding a second cartouche, with the name of honour, to that which contains their names as individuals. One of them, Tat-ka-ra Assa, who has left us monuments among the mines of Sinai, was the prince under whom the Papyrus Prisse was written by "the governor Ptah-Hotep." This, the most ancient book in the world, is a treatise on practical philosophy, very like the Book of Proverbs in the Old Testament. Thus, it tells us, that "if thou art become great after thou hast been lowly, and if thou hast heaped up riches after poverty, being because of that the chiefest in thy city; if thou art known for thy wealth and art become a great lord;—let not thy heart be puffed up because of thy riches, for it is God who has given them unto thee. Despise not another who is as thou wast; be towards him as towards thy equal." Ptah-Hotep must have been advanced in years at the time he wrote his book, if we may judge from the feeling language in which he describes old age.

With the fifth dynasty the Memphite dynasties come to an end. The sixth was from Elephantinê. Its most illustrious monarch was Merira Pepi I., whose able minister Una has left us a record of his widespread activity. Ships of war were built at the First Cataract to convey blocks of granite to the north;

multitudes of negroes were enrolled in the Egyptian army for campaigns against the Semites of Asia and the Herusha or Beduins of the isthmus of Suez; the garrisons in the Sinaitic peninsula were strengthened; and the temple of Hathor, at Denderah, built by the Horshesu in the mythical age, and repaired by Khufu, was rebuilt from the foundations according to the original plans, which had been accidently discovered.[1]

The sixth dynasty ended with Queen Neit-akrit, or Nitokris, "with the rosy cheeks," who completed the third pyramid, left unfinished by Men-ka-ra, and, if we may believe Hêrodotos, avenged herself on the murderers of her brother. An age of trouble and disaster, it would seem, followed upon her death. The copyists of Manetho give but a short duration to the seventh dynasty, and the three kings placed after Neit-akrit by the Turin Papyrus are made to reign severally only two years, a month and a day, four years two months and a day, and two years a month and a day.

With the close of the sixth dynasty (B. C 3500) we may also date the close of the Old Empire. For several centuries the history of Egypt is a blank. A few royal names are met with on scarabs, or in the tablets of Abydos and Sakkârah, but their tombs and temples have not yet been found. When the dark-

[1] Wiedemann doubts this, and believes that the whole story was invented in the time of Thothmes III., the real builder of the temple, in order to give the shrine the reputation of antiquity.

ness that envelops them is cleared away, it is with the rise of the eleventh dynasty and the Middle Empire (B. C. 3064). How long it lasted we do not know, but the period cannot have been a short one. Profound changes have taken place when the veil is once more lifted from Egyptian history. We find ourselves in a new Egypt; the seat of power has been transferred to Thebes, the physical type of the ruling caste is no longer that of the Old Empire, and a change has passed over the religion of the people. It has become gloomy, introspective, and mystical; the light-hearted freedom and practical character that formerly distinguished it are gone. Art, too, has undergone modifications which imply a long age of development. It has ceased to be spontaneous and realistic, and has become conventional. Even the fauna and flora are different, and the domestic cat, imported from Nubia, for the first time makes its appearance on the threshold of history.

Thebes is the capital of the Middle Empire, and a new deity, Amun, the god of Thebes, presides over it. Its princes were long the vassals of the legitimate dynasties of Herakleopolis, and the first of whom we know, Entef I., claimed to be no more than a simple noble. His son, Mentu-hotep I., still calls himself *hor*, or subordinate king, and it is not until three generations afterwards that Entef IV. throws off the supremacy of the sovereigns in the north, assumes the title of monarch of Upper and Lower Egypt, and

founds the eleventh dynasty; though this honour is also claimed by Mentu-hotep IV. The era of Theban greatness, however, begins with the Amen-em-hats and Usertasens of the twelfth dynasty. Its founder, Amen-em-hat I., won the throne by war, and followed the fashion of the old Memphite kings by building for himself a pyramid. We possess in the Sallier papyrus the instructions which he wrote for his son. The relations between Egypt and the adjoining districts of Palestine are revealed to us in the story of an adventurer named Saneha, who is made to fly from the court of the Theban monarch to that of Ammu-enshi, king of Tennu in Edom, where, like David, the Egyptian killed a "champion," famous for his strength and size. The obelisk which marks the site of Heliopolis, near Cairo, was raised by Usertasen I., the son and successor of Amen-em-hat; it is the oldest of which we know. It characterises the Middle Empire, just as the pyramid characterised the Old Empire, and, in the later times at all events, was intended to serve as a lightning-conductor. At any rate, an inscription at Edfu speaks of it as thus employed. Meanwhile, new colonists were sent to Sinai, and the turquoise-mines were re-opened. The Nubians and negroes of Aken and Kush were conquered, and in the eighth year of the reign of Usertasen III. the southern boundary of the empire was fixed at the fortresses of Semneh and Kummeh, thirty-five miles beyond the Second Cataract, no negro being allowed to come northward

of them, except for purposes of trade. Here, in succeeding reigns, the height of the inundation was marked year by year on the rocks, from which we learn that its highest rise was 27 feet 3 inches above its rise at the present day. The enormous basin, with its tunnel and canal, dug by Amen-em-hat III. on the western bank of the Nile, created the modern province of the Fayûm. Its name, Meri, or "lake," was changed by the Greeks into the name of an imaginary being, Mœris. Its site is now marked by a depression in the south-east of the Fayûm. Strangely enough, the province and its inhabitants, were so abhorred by the Egyptians on account of their worship of the god Sebek, and his sacred animal, the crocodile, that they are never mentioned on the monuments. It is possible that Amen-em-hat peopled the district with the captives he had carried away from the south. We know from the paintings on the tomb of Prince Khnum-hotep at Beni-hassan that the immigration of the Semites into the Delta, which eventually gave it the name of Keft-ur, or Caphtor, "Greater Phœnicia," had already begun in the reign of Usertasen II. In the sixth year of the latter's reign a family of thirty-seven Amu or Semites from Absha arrived with their asses and goods, and craved permission to settle on the banks of the Nile. We may still see them with their black hair and hooked noses, and Phœnician garments of many colours like the one which Joseph wore. They were the

forerunners of numerous hordes, who succeeded at last not only in making the Delta their own, but even in conquering the whole country that had given them hospitality, and under the name of the Hyksos ruling over it for more than 500 years. They borrowed the alphabet of the Egyptians, under the form assumed by it in the hieratic papyri of the Middle Empire; and this alphabet, after being carried to Phœnicia, has become the mother of the alphabets of the civilised world.

The kings of the thirteenth dynasty ably maintained the empire which had been handed down to them. More than 150 are named in the Turin papyrus, proving that the number 60, given by the copyists of Manetho, is incorrect. Monuments of some of them have been found at Asyut, at Abydos, at Bubastis, at Tanis, and elsewhere, The twenty-sixth sovereign of them erected colossi in the island of Argo, in the very heart of Ethiopia, thus penetrating far beyond the southernmost limits of the conquests of the twelfth dynasty. But the following dynasty from Xois (Sakha), whose seventy-six kings, according to Manetho, reigned for 484 or 134 years, allowed the power it inherited to slip through its hands. The fifteenth dynasty bears the ominous title of shepherds, or Hyksos, and testifies to the fact that Egypt had passed under the yoke of a foreign domination.

Hyksos is the Egyptian *hik-shasu*, "chief of the Beduins," or "Shepherds," Shasu being the name given

to the Semitic nomades of North-western Arabia. The Hyksos, however, are called Men or Menti in the inscriptions, Menti being explained in the geographical table of Edfu to be the natives of Syria. In accordance with this, Manetho speaks of Jerusalem as a Hyksos town, and their Egyptian capital, Zoan or Tanis, is connected with Hebron in Numb. xiii. 22. It is possible that their leaders were Hittite princes, though Lepsius believes them to have come from Punt or Southern Arabia; at any rate, their features, as revealed by the few memorials of them that exist, more especially the lion of Sân, belong to a very peculiar and non-Semitic type.[1] But their monuments are rare; after their expulsion the Egyptians did their utmost to destroy all that reminded them of the hated strangers, and it is only within the last few years that M. Mariette's excavations at Sân or Tanis have brought to light some scanty relics of the Shepherd kings.

Their rule lasted, according to Manetho, for 511 years,[2] and this seems to be confirmed by a granite slab found at Sân, of the time of Ramses II., which is dated in the 400th year of the (Hyksos) king, Set-aa-pehti Nubti,—if, that is, the latter can be identified with the Saites who leads the seventeenth

[1] M. Maspero has lately questioned whether the peculiar type represented by the monuments of Sân is really that of the Hyksos, and not rather of the original population of the district.

[2] This number is obtained from the valuable fragment of Manetho preserved by Josephus (*Cont. Ap.* i. 14, 15). Africanus and Eusebius

dynasty of Manetho (B. C. 1806).[1] It must, however, be admitted that Set was specially the god of the Shepherds, and that his name enters into the composition of several of theirs (such as Staan, Asseth, and Sethos). Some time appears to have elapsed before the Semitic hordes consolidated themselves under the rule of a single prince, to whom the name of Salatis or Shaladh, "the Sultan," is given, and

are hopelessly confused. Africanus makes the fifteenth dynasty consist of six "Phœnican" kings, reigning in all 284 years; but the number of years assigned to each does not always agree with that given by Josephus, and the leader of the dynasty, Salatis, is confounded with Saites, the leader of the seventeenth. Africanus further makes the sixteenth dynasty consist of thirty-two "Greek" Shepherd kings and last 518 years, the seventeenth dynasty consisting of forty-three Shepherd kings for 151 years. Eusebius, on the other hand, passes over two of the Shepherd dynasties, and, doubtless following the example of Manetho, reckons the contemporary native princes at Thebes as alone legitimate. His fifteenth dynasty consequently consists of Thebans for 250 years, and his sixteenth dynasty also of five Thebans for 190 years. In the seventeenth dynasty he enumerates four Phœnician Shepherd kings for 103 years, though forty-three independent sovereigns had time meanwhile to reign at Thebes. While, therefore, according to Africanus, the Shepherds occupied the country for 953 years, according to Eusebius the contemporary Theban dynasties extended over only 543 years (or, supposing the seventeenth dynasty to be contemporary with the latter, only 440 years). The numbers are plainly exaggerated, and the round numbers in Eusebius suspicious; but it is probable that the Theban princes did not recover their independence until some time after the Hyksos conquest, so that it was only during the reigns of the later Shepherd kings that Manetho was able to reckon the Theban dynasties as collateral. The seventeenth Shepherd dynasty is distinguished on the monuments from the two preceding ones by the name of Menti-Petti.

[1] Maspero, however, holds that the date merely refers to the 400th year of the mythical reign of Set or Typhon, like the year 363 of Harmakhis mentioned at Edfu.

who established his court at Memphis. Like the Moors in Spain, the Hyksos seem never to have succeeded in reducing the whole of Egypt to subjection, though the few native princes who managed to maintain themselves in the south were no doubt tributary to the earlier Shepherd monarchs; and Wiedemann's discovery that the granite statue (A) in the Louvre, which was usurped by Amenophis III., is really a monument of the Hyksos prince Apepi, proves that the latter subjected to his sway thirty-six districts of Nubia. Gradually, however, the power of the Hyksos became weaker, the tributary princes made themselves independent, and the *hik* or governor of Thebes collected around him a rival court. Meanwhile the Hyksos kings had fully submitted themselves to the influence of Egyptian civilisation. They had adopted the manners and customs, the art and literature, even the religion and the gods, of their conquered subjects. They gave themselves the titles of their predecessors, and raised temples and sphinxes in honour of the deities of Egypt. Zoan or Tanis was made their capital and adorned with splendid buildings, so that its foundation could well be ascribed to them. Here they surrounded themselves with the scribes and savans of both Egypt and Asia, and a geometrical papyrus written under their patronage has survived to tell us of the culture they professed. Their hold upon the country was confirmed by the construction of two fortresses

at Ha-uar or Avaris, in the Sethroite nome, and Sherohan[1] on the frontier, the first of which was garrisoned with 240,000 men; but their direct power does not seem to have extended further south than the Fayûm. It was during the domination of one of the three Hyksos dynasties that first Abraham and then Joseph must have entered Egypt, and found a ready welcome among a people of kindred race.

But the rule of the Shepherds was drawing to a close. Their monarch Apepi or Apophis, as we learn from the legend in the Sallier papyrus, had deserted Tanis and established his capital at Avaris,—an indication, perhaps, that the limits of Hyksos authority had been gradually contracting. Nevertheless, he still claimed supremacy over the subordinate native princes of the south, and in an evil day determined to displace Ra-skenen, the *hik* or governor of Thebes. Ra-skenen submitted to his first demand that he should worship no other gods but Amun-Ra; but when the tyrant sent a still more exacting message, Ra-skenen ventured to raise the standard of revolt, and summoned the other oppressed chieftains of Egypt to his aid. The war of independence was begun, the foreigners were driven from one position to another, and a national fleet was built by Ra-skenen Taa II., whose three successors, Ra-skenen III., Kames,[2] and Aahmes,

[1] Sharuhen in Josh. xix. 6.

[2] Uot-kheper-Ra-Kames is the Alisphragmuthosis of Manetho, who captured Memphis, *l* being read for *t*, and *kh* represented by *s*, as in

concluded the work. Avaris was captured in the fifth year of the last-named prince and Sherohan in the sixth, and Egypt was now free. Aahmes founded the eighteenth dynasty and the new empire (B.C. 1703), and with it a new era of prosperity and glory for the country of his ancestors.

The same outburst of vigour and military activity that followed the expulsion of the Moors from Spain followed also the expulsion of the Hyksos. The injuries Egypt had endured at the hands of Asia were avenged upon Asia itself. The old policy of exclusiveness and non-interference in Asiatic affairs was renounced, the war was carried into the East, and the boundaries of the empire were laid on the banks of the Euphrates. Palestine was occupied by Egyptian garrisons, and in thus flinging herself upon Asia, Egypt became an Asiatic power. The penalty was paid by a future generation. Asiatic customs and aspirations penetrated into the kingdom of the Pharaohs, the population and the court itself became semi-Asiatic, and, exhausted by the efforts it had made, Egypt at last fell a prey to internal dissensions and the assaults of foreign enemies.

But for a time, under the great monarchs of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, the brilliant policy they had inaugurated seemed eminently successful. Time after time their armies marched out of "hun-

Suphis for Khufu. Men-kheper-Ra (Thothmes III.) is Mespheres (Misaphris) in Manetho and Pliny.

dred-gated Thebes," returning with new rolls of conquered provinces, with the plunder and tribute of the East, and with trains of captives for the erection of the gigantic monuments in which the spirit of the conquerors sought expression. The city-like ruin of Karnak, with its obelisks and columns and carvings, the huge monoliths of granite that watched over the plain of Thebes, the temple of Abu-Simbel, hewn out of a mountain and guarded by colossi, whose countenances betokened the divine calm of undisputed majesty, were all so many memorials of titanic conceptions and more than human pride. Nobler and better than these, however, were the earlier monuments of a Thothmes or a Hatasu, in which Egyptian art gave utterance to its renaissance in delicately-finished and brilliantly-painted sculpture on stone. The little temple of Amada in Nubia, built by Thothmes III. in honour of his young wife, or the ruined walls of Queen Hatasu's temple at Deir el-Bahri, on which is carved the story of Egyptian exploration in the land of Punt, are, in the artist's eyes, worth far more than the colossal monuments of Ramses II.

The first care of Aahmes or Amosis, after driving out the foreigner, was to unite Egypt again into a single monarchy. Gradually the petty kings were reduced to the rank of feudal princes, and the defeat of the Nubian sovereign Teta placed the country between the Cataracts once more in Egyptian hands. But it was his second successor, Thothmes I., who was

the first of a long line of great conquerors. In the south he added the Soudan to Egypt, and appointed "a governor of Kush;" in the east he carried his arms as far as Naharina, or the land of the Orontes. But his achievements were eclipsed by those of his second son, Thothmes III. For a while his elder sister Hatasu ruled as regent with more than masculine energy and ability, and her little brother was believed in later legend to have fled, like the god Horos, to the marshes of Buto in the north. The loftiest obelisk in the world was, by her orders, carved out of the granite rocks of Assuân, engraved, floated down the Nile, and set up at Karnak, in the short space of seven months. Stately temples rose at her command, and a voyage of discovery was made to the land of Punt and the African coast near Guardafui, whence the explorers brought back strange plants and stones and animals, among them a chimpanzee. For fifteen years Hatasu ruled supreme. Then the youthful Thothmes, grown to man's estate, claimed and received a share in the government, and six years later the queen died.

As a military power, as the arbiter of the destinies of the ancient civilised world, Egypt reached its zenith under the sway of Thothmes. During his long reign of fifty-three years, eleven months, and four days, the country was covered with monuments, and became the centre of trade and intercourse. Countless treasures flowed into it, and Thebes took rank as the capital of

the world. A royal botanical and zoological garden was established, stocked with the curious plants and animals the king had brought back with him from his campaigns, among which we may recognise the *mama* or dom-palm. In the year after his sister's death, he shattered the combined Canaanite forces, under the Hittite king of Kadesh on the Orontes, at Megiddo, where the enemy left behind them, among other spoil, chariots of silver and gold that had been made in Cyprus. A fortress was built at the foot of Lebanon, near Arados, to secure the new conquests. But it needed fourteen campaigns before Western Asia could be thoroughly subdued, and in the course of these we hear of the Egyptian king hunting elephants near the town of Ni, midway between Carchemish and Kadesh. After this, year by year, tribute and taxes of every kind came in regularly to the Egyptian treasury from the towns of Palestine and Phœnica, from Cyprus and the Hittites, from Mesopotamia, Assyria, and perhaps even Babylon itself. Kush, too, sent its offering, and Egyptain officials visited the Soudan; while Punt—the coast of Somali and Southern Arabia—poured its products into the trading vessels of the Egyptian king.

His successors, Amen-hotep or Amenophis II., Thothmes III., and Amenophis III., maintained the empire they had inherited, with occasional raids upon the negroes, for the sake partly of slaves, partly of the gold found in their country. The two colossi in the

plain of Thebes, one of them the miracle-working Memnon of classical days, are statues of Amenophis III. But the latter sovereign left a legacy of trouble behind him. He seems to have made a *mésalliance* by marrying a wife neither royal nor Egyptian, named Taia, and their son, Amenophis IV. or Khu-en-Aten, was regarded as an usurper by the priestly aristocracy of Thebes.[1] But Amenophis IV. was more than an unlawful ruler. He was a heretic, acknowledging only the one God of Light, whom he worshipped, like his mother, under the symbol of the solar disk (aten), and fanatically intolerant of Amun-Ra and the state-gods of Thebes. Open war soon broke out between him and the priests. By royal edict the sacred names of Amun and Mut were erased from the monuments of Egypt, the king's own name was changed to Khu-en-Aten—" the splendour of the solar disk ; " and Thebes, the city of Amun, with all its temples and monuments of victory, was left, in order that a new capital might be founded at Tel el-Amarna. Here a magnificent

[1] The tomb discovered by Mr. Villers-Stewart at Thebes shows no more than that the peculiar style of art introduced by the architects of Khu-en-Aten at Tel el-Amarna, was introduced into Thebes itself during the later part of the king's reign. The right-hand side of the façade of the tomb which is decorated in this peculiar way is unfinished, and both on the right and on the left-hand sides the cartouches of Amenophis IV. and Khu-en-Arten are joined together. M. Maspero has shown that Taia was an Egyptian name, so that the Asiatic origin of the princess is not absolutely certain. A fragment of sculptured stone with the uneffaced cartouches of Khu-en-Aten, found at Erment, a little south of Thebes, proves that the "heretic king" built a temple in the near vicinity of the old capital.

shrine was built to the new divinity of the Pharoah, not after the venerable model of the temples of Egypt, but of those of the subject Phœnicians. It would seem that the king had originally intended to plant this in the city of Thebes itself, and that his retirement to his new capital was an enforced flight. Here he surrounded himself by his relations and the converts to the new doctrines,—one of the latter, Meri-Ra, being made chief prophet of his temple, and adorned with a golden chain. His generals, indeed, continued to gain victories in Syria and Ethiopia, but the upper classes of Egpyt were in secret revolt, and the country was fermenting with the suppressed bitterness of religious hatred. He died, leaving seven daughters and no sons, and was followed by two of his sons-in-law and the master of his horse, whose united reigns hardly filled up a single generation. Ai, the master of the horse, had married the foster-mother of Khu-en-Aten, and during his short reign seems to have carried out a vigorous policy. He returned to the orthodox worship of Amun, and was accordingly allowed a place in the royal burial-ground of Thebes by the priests. But his death was the signal for fresh dissensions, which were healed only by the accession of Hor-em-hib, the Armais—not Horos—of Manetho (whose list of the kings of the eighteenth dynasty is in the greatest confusion). Hor-em-hib had married the sister-in-law of Khu-en-Aten. He enlarged the great temple of Amun at Thebes, re-conquered Kush, and received

tribute from Punt. With him the eighteenth dynasty came to an end.[1]

Ramses (Ramessu) I., the founder of the nineteenth dynasty, came from Lower Egypt, and was probably of Semitic extraction. He was related—apparently by marriage—to Hor-em-hib, and his short reign of six years was chiefly signalised by the beginning of the long struggle with the Kheta or Hittites, now the most powerful people in Western Asia. His son, Seti Menephthah I., or Sethos, the builder of the great hall of columns at Karnak and the principal temple of Abydos, once more restored the waning military fame of Egypt. The incursions of the Beduins into the Delta were mercilessly avenged. Palestine was overrun from one end to the other; the Phœnicians of the Lebanon submitted voluntarily; Kadesh, "in the land of the Amorites," once the southern stronghold of the Hittites, was captured; and Mautenur, the Hittite monarch, after several years of conflict, was forced to make alliance with the Egyptian conqueror. A new enemy had meanwhile appeared on the coast in the shape of the Libyans. They, too, however, were defeated,

[1] Among the kings belonging to the close of the eighteenth dynasty may be mentioned Teta Menephthah, who was worshipped under the nineteenth dynasty. Ra-en-tui, another king of the same period, is called king of Lower Egypt only in the temple of Ramses II. at Abydos, from which we may infer that the nineteenth dynasty began with reigning over the Thebaid alone. Ai seems to have been followed by his two brothers-in-law, Tut-ankh-Amun and Ra-s-aa-ka-nekht-kheperu.

and Thebes was filled with the spoil of the stranger.[1] Such victories were needed to condone the religious failings of the new dynasty, which worshipped the foreign gods of Canaan, at the head of them all Baal-Sutekh, or Set, once the patron-deity of the hated Hyksos, but now the divinity after whom the Egyptian king was himself named. Ramses II. or Sestura, the Sesostris of the Greeks, son and successor of Seti, seems to have been a boy of about ten years at his accession, and to have died at the ripe age of eighty. He was the *grand monarque* of Egypt. His long reign, his colossal buildings, his incessant wars, and the victories he claimed, all make him the prototype of Louis Quatorze. For a time he had been associated in the government with his father, whose death was the signal for a renewal of the war between Egypt and the Hittites. The Hittites had summoned their allies from the furthest regions of their empire. The Dardanians (*Dardani*) came from the Troad, the Masu or Mysians from their cities of Ilion (*Iluna*)[2] and Pedasos, the Kolkhians or Keshkesh from the Kaukasos, the Syrians from the Orontes, the Phœnicians from Arvad. Kadesh, on the Orontes, was the centre of the war. It was here that Ramses saved himself from an ambush of the

[1] It is difficult to determine the exact extent of Seti's successes, since, like many other Egyptian kings, he has at Karnak usurped the inscriptions and victories of one of his predecessors, Thothmes III., without taking the trouble to draw up a list of his own.

[2] Brugsch reads this as Mauna, "Mæonia."

enemy, partly perhaps by his personal bravery, partly by the swiftness of his horses. But the event was made the subject of a long heroic poem by Pentaur, the Egyptian Homer, who won the prize for his verses above all other competitors in the seventh year of the king's reign. It was treated with true epic exaggeration; the interference of the gods was freely invoked, and the achievement transferred to the region of myth. But the vanity of Ramses never wearied of reading the legend in which he played the leading part. The poem was inscribed on the walls of Abydos, of Luxor, of Karnak, of Abu-Simbel, —everywhere, in short, where the *grand monarque* raised his buildings and allowed his subjects to read the record of his deeds. As a matter of fact his victories over the Hittites were Kadmeian ones. At one time the Egyptian generals prevailed over the enemy, and the statues of Ramses were erected in the city of Tunep, or carved in stone at the mouth of the Nahr el-Kelb, while hymns of victory were sung at Thebes, and gangs of captives were lashed to work at the monuments of the mighty conqueror; but at another time the tide of fortune changed, and Carchemish rather than Thebes had reason to triumph. For years the struggle continued, until, in the thirty-fourth year of Ramses, the two nations, exhausted with the equally-balanced conflict, were fain to make peace. Ramses and Khita-sira, "the great king of the Hittites," entered into an alliance, defensive and offensive, agree-

ing that neither side should punish the political offenders who had fled from the one country into the other during the time of war. The Hittite text of the treaty was engraved on a tablet of silver in the peculiar characters of Carchemish, while the Egyptian copy was sculptured on the walls of the temples of Ramses. It was ratified by the marriage of Ramses with the daughter of the Hittite king.

Meanwhile raids were made upon the hapless negroes in the south, and Askalon, which had dared to resist the will of the Egyptian monarch, was stormed and sacked. The Libyans sent tribute, and fresh gold-mines were opened in Nubia, where miserable captives rotted to death. The Israelites in Goshen built the treasure-cities of Pithom and Raamses, or Zoan, and colossal statues of the monarch were carved out of the granite rocks of Syene, and set up in front of the temple of Ptah at Memphis, and of the Ramesseum, "the tomb of Osymandyas," at Thebes. The monolith of the Ramesseum, now shattered by earthquake, was no less than sixty feet high. But Ramses cared more for the size and number of his buildings than for their careful construction and artistic finish. The work is mostly "scamped," the walls ill-built, the sculptures coarse and tasteless. To this, however, Abu-Simbel forms a striking exception. Here, among the silent sands of Nubia, one of the world's wonders was carved in the rock. A huge and solemn temple was hewn out of a mountain, and its entrance guarded

by four colossi, each with a divine calm imprinted upon its mighty features, and with eyes fixed towards the rising of the sun. Abu-Simbel is the noblest memorial left us by the barren wars and vainglorious monuments of Ramses-Sesostris.

His family must have been a large one. The temple of Abydos records the names of sixty daughters and fifty-nine sons, the fourteenth of whom, Menephthah II., was the next king. His first work was to repel a formidable naval attack by Libyans and various tribes from the North, in whom some have seen Sardinians, Sicilians, and Akhæans. They were led by the Libyan king, Marmaiu, the son of Did, and had penetrated as far as Heliopolis, sweeping over the Delta like a swarm of locusts. The invaders were almost completely destroyed, and prodigious booty fell into the hands of the royal army. This was in the fifth year of the king's reign. Shortly afterwards, according to the most accepted theory, the exodus of the Israelites took place (B. C. 1320).

Three more inglorious reigns over a divided Egypt bring us to the end of the nineteenth dynasty. It had been a period of civil war and foreign invasion. Arisu, a Syrian from Phœnicia, made himself master of a large part of the country, at the head of an army of revolted slaves. The history of this troubled time is glanced at in the great Harris Papyrus; it is given in more detail by Diodôros Siculus,[1] who calls the rebels

[1] i. 1, 56.

Babylonians, and by Manetho,[1] who terms their leader Osarsiph, and identifies him with Moses. Osarsiph had been a priest of Heliopolis, and in conjunction with the Hyksos, who had sent troops from Jerusalem, occupied Avaris, the old fortress of the Shepherds. For thirteen years Egypt suffered under this foreign rule; then Set-nekht, whom Manetho names Amenophis, advanced with an army from the south, drove out the Semites and slaves, put down the rival chiefs, and united the country under one sceptre. He ushered in the twentieth dynasty (B.C. 1288), and was succeeded by his son, Ramses III., the Rhampsinitos of Hêrodotos, who had been a boy of five years of age at the time of his father's successes. Ramses III. is the last of the native heroes. Egypt was surrounded by its enemies when he assumed its double crown. The Libyans, under their princes Zamar and Zautmar, were the first to attack it. But they were driven off after a fierce battle, in which they left 12,535 dead upon the field. The next struggle was by sea. The Hittites of Carchemish, and their allies from the islands of the Mediterranean, from Asia Minor, and

[1] Ap. Joseph. *Cont. Ap.* i. 27. As Manetho makes the legitimate king under whom this happened an Amenophis, it is possible he has divided the name of Menephthah Si-ptah, the tomb of whose wife, Ta-user (the Thuoris of Manetho), is at Thebes, between Amenophis and Osar-siph. Menephthah Si-ptha was one of the kings or anti-kings who preceded Arisu, with whom he has sometimes been identified, and owed the crown to a Theban noble, Bai, and Seti, the governor of Kush. The foreign slaves were called lepers by the Egyptians, which Manetho has mistaken for leprous Egyptians.

from the Kaukasos, came in overwhelming force in the ships of Arados. But they, too, were defeated and the waters reddened with their slaughter, while their camp on land was plundered and burned. Then in the king's eleventh year, came a new assault by the Maxyes under their chief Massala, the son of Kapur. They had penetrated as far as the Kanopic branch of the Nile when the avenging hand of Ramses fell upon them. They were partly slain, partly drafted into the Egyptian forces, for Egypt was now obliged to depend largely upon mercenary troops. Even the negroes had ventured to invade the south, but they too were chastised, and the country was at last at peace. Ramses had filled his coffers with the spoil of his enemies, and now increased his wealth by building a fleet of merchantmen in the harbour of Suez, by renewing the mining-stations of Sinai, and by opening mines of copper elsewhere. The construction of new temples marked the revival of Egyptian prosperity; and at Medinet-Abu, opposite Luxor, the solitary example of an Egyptian palace that remains was erected. But with all his riches and success, Ramses was not preserved from a dangerous harem-conspiracy, which, however, was detected and its authors put to death. When he died he left his son, Ramses IV., a prosperous and peaceful kingdom; the empire of earlier days had gone, and Egypt was contracted to its own borders, but within those borders it was at peace. The succeeding kings of the nineteenth dynasty were all

named Ramses, and each was as insignificant as his predecessor. The high priests of Amun at Thebes gradually supplanted their power, until at last all things were ripe for revolution, and the high priest Hirhor seized the throne and established a new dynasty (B. C. 1110).

But though Hirhor claimed to be king of Upper and Lower Egypt, it was only in the Thebaid that his authority was undisputed. The descendants of Ramses XIII. and their adherents had been banished to the Great Oasis; but a rival dynasty, alone recognised by Manetho under the title of the twenty-first, and founded by Si-Mentu Mei-Amun or Smendês, ruled at Tanis. Another power, however, soon appeared upon the scene. A great-grandson of Ramses XIII., the last king of the twentieth dynasty, had married the daughter of Panu-res-nes, "the great prince" of the Libyan mercenaries in the Delta, whom Brugsch supposes to have been an Assyrian monarch. But the names which he believes to be Assyrian are in no way so, and are probably to be regarded as Libyan.[1] Pinotem (Pinetsem) II., the great-grandson of Hirhor, had been succeeded by his son Men-kheper-Ra, when Sheshank or Shishak, the leader of the mercenaries in the Delta,

[1] The *Mat*, of whom Panu-res-nes and his successors were princes, were the Libyan Mashuash or Maxyes. Wiedemann (*Geschichte Aegyptens von Psammetich I. bis auf Alexander den Grossen*, p. 34), points out that the passage rendered by Brugsch, "A memorial tablet was erected in the language of the land of Bab(el)," is really, "A stele was set up to her made of stone from the land of Ba . . su-t."

and fifth in descent from a certain foreigner named Bubuï or Buaï, with his son Naromath, established himself as independent king at Bubastis. A movement seems to have previously broken out at Thebes in favour of the banished Ramessids, in consequence of which the latter were recalled. Sheshank must have extended his power as far as Middle Egypt, since his son Naromath was buried in state during his father's lifetime at Abydos, while the throne of Tanis was occupied by Psiunkha or Pisebkhan I.,[1] the Psusennes of Manetho. It was during this period of internal dissension that the bodies of Thothmes III., of Ramses II., and of the other great princes of the 18th and 19th dynasties, were transferred from their tombs to the secret cavern near Deir el-Bahâri, at Thebes, where they were interred along with the members of the family of Pinotem.[2] Hor Psiunkha II.[3] was the successor of Psiunkha I., and was perhaps the king who sought to strengthen himself against the growing

[1] Called Pasiuenkha by Birch.

[2] The discovery of these mummies has enabled M. Maspero to restore the genealogy of the line of Hirhor as follows: (1) Hir-hor, high-priest and king, reigned at least sixteen years; (2) Pionkhi, his son, high-priest; (3) Pinotem I., his son, high-priest; (4) Pinotem II., his son, king. His two sons were (5) Masahirti, the high-priest, and (6) Men-kheper-Ra, the king. Men-kheper-Ra's son and successor was (7) Pinotem III. Pinotem II. had married, first, Tiu-Hathor-Honttoü, by whom he had Masahirti, whose daughter was the princess Isimkheb (Ast-em-kheb), and, secondly, queen Mâ-ke-Ra, whose son was Men-kheper-Ra. The latter married Isimkheb, and built the great mud-brick fortress of El Haybî, between Beni-Suef and Minieh.

[3] Called Har-pasebensha by Birch.

power of the Libyan mercenaries by marrying his daughter to Solomon. But all precautions were in vain. Sheshank I., the descendant of the Sheshank already mentioned, overthrew both the rival dynasties of Tanis and Thebes, and heads the twenty-second dynasty, B. C. 980, establishing his court at Bubastis.

Sheshank signalised his reign by overrunning Judah, Edom, and the southern part of Israel, and capturing Jerusalem, a list of the conquered towns being engraved on the wall of Karnak. His successors, whose names have been erroneously imagined to be Assyrian, proved a race of *rois fainéants*. Egypt became once more divided among a number of petty kings, and the Ethiopian monarchs of Napata, who derived their origin from the banished family of Hirhor, claimed suzerainty over their former rulers. One of these, Pi-ankhi, has left us a record of his triumphs over Tefnekht of Sais,—called Tnêphakhthos, the father of Bocchoris, by Diodôros—who had captured Memphis, and made himself master of all Lower Egypt. The rebel prince himself fled to Cyprus, but was pardoned and allowed to return to Egypt. His son, Bak-en-ran-ef, or Bocchoris, occupied the whole of Manetho's twenty-fourth dynasty, while Mi-Amun Nut, the son of Piankhi, reigned at Thebes. Bocchoris was captured and burned alive by the Ethiopian Shabaka or Sabako,[1] the son of Kashta, who founded the twenty-fifth dynasty and reunited the Egyptian monarchy. After his

[1] Called So in 2 Kings xvii. 4.

defeat by Sargon, the Assyrian king, at Raphia, in B.C. 720, he died, and was followed first by Shabatuk and then by Taharka (Tirhakah or Tarakos), the brother-in-law of Sabako. Tirhaka found himself in possession of a prosperous kingdom,—threatened, however, by the rising power of the Assyrians, and undermined by native discontent at the rule of the Ethiopian stranger. After the indecisive battle with Sennacherib at Eltekeh, in B.C. 701, Tirhakah was left in peace for some years, until, in the twenty-third year of his reign (B.C. 672), he was attacked and driven out of Egypt by the Assyrian armies of Esar-haddon. Egypt became a province of Assyria, divided into twenty satrapies, each governed by a native prince. It was these twenty satrapies that constituted the dodecarchy of Hêrodotos.

But more than once Tirhakah marched down from Ethiopia and endeavoured to recover his lost dominion. He was aided by the satraps and people, who naturally preferred the rule of the Ethiopian to that of the Assyrian. Twice did he advance as far as the Delta, and twice was he driven back again by the Assyrians, Necho of Memphis and Sais, and the chief ally of Tirhakah, being on the second occasion sent in chains to Nineveh. At last the old Ethiopian monarch died, and his successor Rut-Amen, or Urdaman, the son of Sabako, determined once more to wrest the sovereignty of Egypt from Asia. Thebes and Memphis opened their gates, and even Tyre sent help. But the Assyrians returned and executed terrible ven-

geance. No-Amon or Thebes was plundered and destroyed, the ground strewn with its ruins, and two of the obelisks at Karnak sent as trophies to Nineveh.[1]

But the Assyrian yoke was at last shaken off. Psamtik or Psammetikhos, the son of Necho of Sais, led the insurgents. Born in the Delta, he was probably of Semitic origin, but his marriage with a princess of the house of Bocchoris gave him the rights of a legitimate king. The moment was a favourable one for revolt. The Assyrian empire had been exhausted by the conquest of Elam, and the Viceroy of Babylonia was in open rebellion in concert with the nations of the west. Gyges of Lydia sent Karian and Ionian troops to the aid of Psammetikhos, and with these he drove out the Assyrian garrisons and reduced the vassal-kings. The decisive battle was fought at Menuf or Momemphis. Psammetikhos became the sole and independent lord of united Egypt, and the foreign mercenaries were rewarded with a permanent settlement near Bubastis. With the twenty-sixth dynasty (B.C. 660), the St. Luke's summer of Egyptian history begins. The revival of peace, of power, and of prosperity, was marked also by a revival of art. Sais was adorned with buildings which almost rivalled the mighty monuments of Thebes; the sacred bulls were enshrined in vast sarcophagi in a new gallery of the Serapeum; screens were introduced into the temples

[1] The destruction of the city is alluded to in Nahum iii. 8-10.

to hide the interior from the vulgar gaze; and a new cursive hand, the demotic, came into use. But the government had ceased to be national; it had gained its power by Hellenic aid, and from this time forward Greek influence began to prevail. The king's person is protected by a Greek bodyguard; the native soldiers desert to Ethiopia, and the oldest Ionic inscription we possess records the pursuit of them by the foreign mercenaries of Psammetikhos. The mart of Naukratis is founded by the Milesians at the mouth of the Kanopic channel, and a new class of persons, interpreters or dragomen, spring up in the country.

Necho the son of Psammetikhos flung aside the old exclusive policy of Egypt, and in rivalry with the merchant cities of Ionia strove to make the Egyptians the chief trading people of the world. An attempt was accordingly made to unite the Red Sea and the Mediterranean by cutting a canal from Bubastis to the Bitter Lakes, and only given up after the death of 120,000 of the labourers. Phœnician ships were sent to circumnavigate Africa, and returned successful after three years' absence. But the inland trade of Asia, which passed through Carchemish and Tyre, still remained to be secured. The fall of the Assyrian empire allowed this project also to be realised, and Josiah, who stood in the way of the Egyptian army, was defeated and slain. But the hymns of triumph once chanted to Amun were now replaced by an embassy to the Greek oracle of Brankhidæ, carrying with it the

war-tunic of the Egyptian king. Egypt was fast becoming Hellenised; the old riddle of the sphinx was being solved, and the venerable mystery of Egypt yielding to the innovating rationalism of the upstart Greek. Necho's dreams of Asiatic sovereignty were dissipated by his defeat at Carchemish at the hands of Nebuchadrezzar. His successor, Psammetikhos II., reigned but five years; Uah-ab-ra (Hophra), or Apries, who followed (B.C. 589), avenging his grandfather's reverses by capturing Sidon and Gaza. But Nebuchadrezzar again shattered the Egyptian forces, and even overran Egypt itself. Then came the ill-fated expedition against Kyrênê and Barka, followed by the revolt of the army and the accession of Aahmes II., or Amasis, to the throne (B.C. 570). Apries and his Greek mercenaries were overthrown at Momemphis, and Apries himself soon afterwards put to death. Amasis, a nobleman of Siuf, who had married a sister of the late king, and whose mother, Tapert, was related to Apries,[1] continued the policy of his predecessors. One of his wives was a Greek of Kyrênê. Naukratis was granted a charter and constitution, all Hellenes whatsoever being admitted to its privileges, and temples were raised to Hellenic gods. Meantime, Kypros was conquered, and wealth and plenty flowed into Egypt. The end, however, was at hand. Kambyses declared war against the Egyptian king, and, led across the desert by a Greek refugee, entered Egypt

[1] Révillout in *Rev. égyptologique*, 1881, pp. 96-8.

(B.C. 525). Amasis died at this critical moment, and his young and inexperienced successor, Psammetikhos II., was defeated, captured in Memphis, and put to death. And so the land of Thothmes and Ramses became a dependency of the Persian Empire.

In B.C. 486 a revolt broke out under Khabash, the effect of which was to divert the preparations Darius had made for attacking Greece, and thus save Greece and the West. But the revolt itself was crushed by Xerxes in 483, and Achæmenes Kyros, whose tomb still exists at Murghab, the brother of Xerxes, was appointed satrap. Once more, in B. C. 463, Egypt revolted again. Its leaders were Amyrtaeos and the Libyan king Inaros. Aided by the Athenians they won the battle of Paprêmis and fortified themselves in Memphis. But Megabyzus, the Persian general (B. C. 457), finally succeeded in capturing the Egyptian capital. Inaros was impaled, and Amyrtaeos fled to the marshes of Elbo, his son Pausiris being appointed Persian viceroy, and Thannyras vassal king of Libya.[1]

In B. C. 415 came the third revolt. This time the insurgents were successful. Amyrtaeos emerged from his place of refuge,—if, indeed, he were the Amyrtaeos who had escaped from the Persians near half a century before, and ruled over an independent Egypt for six years. His successor, Naifaarut or Nepherites I., founded the twenty-ninth or Mendesian dynasty.

[1] See bk. iii. 15, note 9.

Then came Hakar or Akhoris, who sent help to the Spartan king Agêsilaos during his campaigns against Persia (B. C. 395), and allied himself with Evagoras of Kypros, who had driven the Persians from the island. His son was the last of the dynasty. He was followed by Nekht-hor-heb or Nektanebos I., the leader of the thirtieth, who entrusted the command of his fleet to the Greek Khabrias. The army of Artaxerxes was repulsed, and temples were built or restored in Lower Egypt. But it was the last effort of the old Egyptian spirit. Tsiho or Teos, his successor, with the help of Agêsilaos, was deposed by his nephew, Nektanebos II., and fled to the Persian Court. Eighteen years later Artaxerxes Okhos despatched an army to avenge the wrongs of Teos and recover a lost province to Persia. Sidon, with its Egyptian garrison, was taken, and the Persians, aided by Greek mercenaries, besieged and captured Pelusium. The Greek garrison of Bubastis surrendered, Nektanebos fled with his treasures to Ethiopia, and the last native dynasty ceased to exist (B. C. 340).

The Persians did not enjoy their victory long. The empire soon passed from them to Alexander (B. C. 332). But for Egypt it meant only a change of masters. The Ptolemies might assume the dress and titles of the ancient Pharaohs, might worship the same gods and build the same temples, but they were as Greek in spirit as in language. The mission of Egypt among the nations was fulfilled; it had lit the torch of civil-

isation in ages inconceivably remote, and had passed it on to the other peoples of the West. Its task now was to receive and shelter Alexandria, through which the culture of the West might be carried in turn to the decaying nations of the ancient East. In Alexandria, the meeting-place of Orient and Occident, of old and new, of mysticism and science, the history of Pharaonic Egypt fitly comes to a close.

Religion and Mythology.—The exact character of Egyptian religion is a matter of dispute. All we can assert is that, as everywhere else, it underwent change and development during its long period of existence, and that there was a considerable difference between the religious ideas of the upper and lower classes. The chief difficulty it presents is the mixture of high spiritual conceptions and debased animal-worship which we find in it. Hence the conflicting theories it has called forth. According to De Rougé, Egyptian religion was essentially monotheistic; other scholars see in it a pure pantheism; while Renouf makes it what has been termed henotheistic. The animal-worship has been accounted for by a mixture of race, a primitive Nigritian population being supposed to have been conquered by monotheistic or pantheistic conquerors from Asia, who allowed the subject race to retain its old superstitions. But this hypothesis is overthrown by further acquaintance with the monuments.

One thing is quite clear. The kernel of the Egyp-

tian state religion was solar. Each great city had its own deities, which, before the time of Menes, had been united into a hierarchy. But at the head of each hierarchy stood a form of the Sun-god, worshipped as Ptah at Memphis, Amun-Ra at Thebes, Tum at Heliopolis, Osiris at This and Abydos, Mentu at Hermonthis. The unification of the empire brought with it the unification of these various circles of gods. They were all grouped together under the sovereignty of Ptah while the Old Empire lasted, of Amun when Thebes gained the supremacy.

Nuter, "god," has been shown by Renouf to have originally meant "the strong one," a curious parallel to the Greek ἱερός, the equivalent of the Sanskrit *ishiras*, whose primitive signification is still preserved in such Homeric phrases as ἱερόν μένος. Like men and animals, each god had his *ka* or "shadow," which was regarded not only as a second self, but also as more real and permanent than the self which we perceive. The abstract notion of divinity presented itself to the mind of the Egyptian as the *ka* or soul of the universe. God in the abstract, with which each of the gods was identified in turn by the worshipper, or, in the later pantheistic period, into which they were all resolved, was conceived as one perfect, omniscient, and omnipotent being, eternally unchangeable, yet eternally begetting himself in the liquid chaos called *Nu*. The sun, which afterwards symbolised him, was primarily the object of adoration itself. And since the sun rises

as the youthful Harmakhis or Horos, shines in his full strength at mid-day as Ra, and sets in the evening as Tum, the Christian doctrine of the Trinity found its counterpart in Egyptian religion from the dawn of the historical period. Even the sun that shines at night in the lower world received also his name and worship, and ended by becoming the enemy of light and of the sun that illuminates the day. By the side of the Sun-god stood Isis, the dawn, the mother, sister, wife, and double of the Sun-god himself. Out of the manifold myths that described the relations of the sun to the dawn and the evening arose various deities and conceptions of the divine, each of which assumed a different form in different localities, and eventually found a place in the syncretic religion of the united empire.

The oldest and most widespread of these myths was that embodied in the legend of Osiris. The Sun-god Osiris, like his sister Isis, was the child of Nut, the vault of heaven, and of Seb, the earth. While still in their mother's womb they produced the ever-youthful Horos, who is one with his father, and yet a different divinity. Set or Typhon, the husband of his sister Nephthys or Neb-hat, and brother of Horos, imprisoned Osiris in an ark or chest, which, with the help of seventy-two of his followers (the seventy-two days of summer drought), he flung into the sacred Nile. The ark was borne across the sea to the holy city of Phœnicia, Byblos or Gebal, and there found by the

disconsolate Isis. Isis, however, after hiding the corpse of the god, made her way to Horos, who had been banished to the marshes of Buto, and during her absence Set discovered the body of Osiris, which he cut into fourteen pieces and scattered to the winds. They were again carefully collected by Isis and buried in a stately tomb, while Horos made ready to avenge his father's death. But Osiris had died only to rise again, after ruling for awhile, during the hours of night, in the dark regions of the under world. It was thus that he became the judge and monarch of the dead. The struggle between Horos and Set was long and fierce; but at length the god of light triumphed, and Set, the symbol of night and evil, was driven from his throne in the upper world. Horos became the mediator and saviour of mankind, through whom the righteous dead are justified before the tribunal of his father.

In the philosophic system of the priesthood, Nun or Chaos was the first cause from which all proceed,—unshaped, eternal, and immutable matter. Kheper, the scarabæus with the sun's disk, was the creative principle of life which implanted in matter the seeds of life and light. Ptah, the "opener," was the personal creator or demiurge, who, along with the seven Khnumu or architects, gave form to these seeds, and was at once the creator and opener of the primæval egg of the universe—the ball of earth rolled along by Kheper—out of which came the sun and moon according to the older myth, the elements and forms

of heaven and earth according to the later philosophy. Nut, the sky, with the star and boat of the sun upon her back; Seb, the earth, the symbol of time and eternity; and Amenti or Hades, now took their several shapes and places. Over this threefold world the gods and other divine beings presided.

It would be wearisome to recount more than a few of the principal divinities. Ptah, with his wife Sekhet, the cat-headed goddess of Bubastis, and his son Imhotep or Æsculapius, comes first. He is represented with the body of a mummy and the symbols of power, life, or stability in his hands. It was to him that the bull Hapi or Apis, the representative of the creative powers of nature and the fertilising waters of the Nile was sacred. Next to Ptah stands Ra, the Sun-god of Heliopolis, worshipped under seventy-five forms, and called the king of gods and men. Into his hands Ptah had delivered the germs of creation, and, like Ptah, he had existed in the womb of Nu. Here he first appeared as Tum, the setting sun; then, as he passed in his boat over the waters of the lower world and the folds of the serpent Apepi during the night, he was known as Khnum; while it is as the child Har-makhis (Hor-em-khuti), whose symbol is the sphinx, that he rises again from death and sleep each morning on the bud of the lotus-flower that floats on the breast of Nu. This daily birth was held to take place in the bosom of Isis, Mut, or Hathor. Ra is represented with the head of his sacred bird, the hawk, and the solar disk

surmounted by the uræus above; and the mystical Phœnix (*bennu*), which brings the ashes of its former self to Heliopolis every 500 years, seems also to have been his symbol. When worshipped as Tum (or Atum), he has a man's head, with the combined crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt, though as Nofer-Tum he wears a lion's head, above which stands a hawk with a lotus crown. The name of Khnum (Khnubis or Knuphis) was originally derived from the local cult of Elephantinê, but came to be applied to Ra when regarded as passing from one day to another after his descent to the infernal world. His old attributes remained attached to him, so that he sometimes takes the place of Ptah, being represented as moulding the egg of the universe, and fashioning mankind. He has a ram's head, and the symbols connected with him show that his primitive worshippers regarded him as presiding over generation. Horos, symbolised now by the winged solar disk, now by a hawk-headed man, now by the hawk bearing a scourge, now again by a child on a lotus flower, merges in the days of the united monarchy into Harmakhis, the avenger of Osiris.

But after the rise of the Theban dynasty the supreme form under which Ra was worshipped was Amun, "the hidden one." In course of time he absorbed into himself almost all the other deities of Egypt, more especially Ra and Khnum. He reigns over this earth, as his representatives, the Pharaohs,

over Egypt, and inspires mankind with the sense of right. He is called Khem as the self-begetting deity, "the living Osiris" as the animating principle of the universe. On his head he wears a lofty crown of feathers, sometimes replaced by the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt or the ram's head of Khnum, and Mut and Khunsu form with him the trinity of Thebes. Ma or T-mei, the goddess of truth and justice, was the daughter of the Sun-god, who carries on her head the upright ostrich-feather, and has her eyes covered with a bandage. Beside her stands Isis, at once the sister and wife of Osiris, and the mother of Horos. At Thebes she was known as Mut, "the mother," with the vulture's head; at Bubastis as Sekhet, the bride of Ptah and daughter of Ra. As mother of Horos, she was named Hathor or Athor, "the house of Horos," identified by the Greeks with their Aphroditê, and confused with Astoreth by the Semites. The cow, with its horns, symbolising the crescent moon, which in Egypt appears to lie upon its back, was consecrated to her, indicating at how early a time the bride of Osiris, the Sun-god, was held to be the moon. She was also identified with Sothis, the dog-star, and in later days with the planet Venus. All that is good and beautiful among men comes from her; she watches over the birth of children, and rocks the cradle of the Nile. As Neit, too, she is the authoress of weaving and of the arts of female life.

Against her stands Set or Typhon, primarily the night, into whose character and attributes a moral meaning was gradually read, so that in the time of the New Empire he became the representative of evil, the enemy of the bright powers of light and goodness, the prince of the powers of darkness. The crocodile was sacred to him, though Sebek, the crocodile-god, continued to be worshipped in the Fayûm and the neighbourhood of Kom-Ombos up to the classical period. Apepi also, the serpent of night, was associated with him, and came to partake of his demoniac character. His wife Nephthys or Neb-hat, the queen of the lower world, was the nurse of Horos and the sympathising sister of Isis. Her son, by Osiris, was the jackal-headed Anubis, "the master of Hades," who, like the Greek Hermês, guides the dead to the shades below.

But it was with Tehuti or Thoth that the Greeks preferred to identify their Hermês. Originally the god of the moon, like Khunsu, the ibis-headed Thoth, with his consort Safekhu, became the inventor of writing, the regulator of time and numbers, and the patron of science and literature. The cynocephalous ape and the ibis were his sacred animals.

These animal forms, in which a later myth saw the shapes assumed by the affrighted gods during the great war between Horos and Typhon, take us back to a remote prehistoric age, when the religious creed of Egypt was still totemism. They are sur-

vivals from a long-forgotten past, and prove that Egyptian civilisation was of slow and independent growth, the latest stage only of which is revealed to us by the monuments. Apis of Memphis, Mnêvis of Heliopolis, and Pakis of Hermonthis, are all links that bind together the Egypt of the Pharaohs and the Egypt of the stone age. They were the sacred animals of the clans which first settled in these localities, and their identification with the deities of the official religion must have been a slow process, never fully carried out, in fact, in the minds of the lower classes.

Another conception which the primitive Egyptians shared with most other barbarous or semi-barbarous tribes was the magical virtue of names. This also survived into the historical epoch, and, in union with the later spirit of personal ambition, produced an absorbing passion for preserving the name of the individual after death. His continued existence was imagined to depend upon the continued remembrance of his name. The Egyptian belief in the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body thus had its root in the old childlike superstition which confused together words and things. In the philosophical system of the priesthood, however, it was given a new and more rational form. According to this, man consists of three parts: the *khat* or body, which belongs to matter; the *ba* or soul, which ultimately returns to its home in the lower world;

and the *khu* or spirit, an emanation from the divine essence.[1] Each of these parts can exist separately, and each is eternal and immutable. But it is the soul which receives after death the rewards or punishments due to it for its thoughts and actions while in the body. If the soul had triumphed over the bodily passions,—had been pious towards the gods, and righteous towards men,—it passed in safety through all the trials that awaited it below. Fortified by sacred texts and hymns and amulets, and trusting in Horos the mediator, it subdued the demons and horrible beasts that opposed its way, and at length reached the hall of justice where Osiris with his forty-two assessors sat as judge. Horos and Anubis now weighed the soul in its vase against the goddess of truth, and Thoth recorded the result. If the soul went down, it was sentenced to the various torments of hell, or to wander like a vampire between heaven and earth, scourged and buffeted by the tempests, or else doomed to transmigrate into the bodies of animals, until permitted to regain its original body and undergo a fresh trial; there were cases even in which it might be annihilated. If, on the other hand, the soul remained evenly balanced, it was allowed to enter the blissful fields of Aalu, there to be purified from all the stains of its early life, and

[1] *Khu* is strictly the luminous envelope or intelligence, and thus closely allied to the Johannine Logos. Every one has a *ka* or "double," which may be compared with the Accadian *zi* or "spirit."

after becoming perfect in wisdom and knowledge, to be absorbed into the divine essence, or to live again upon earth in any form it chose. Finally, however, in the great day of resurrection, soul, spirit, and body were again to be united, and for this purpose every care had to be taken lest the body should decay or become injured.

Our knowledge of Egyptian mythology as distinct from Egyptian religion is still but scanty. Mention has already been made of the Osiris myth, which entered so largely into the religious faith of the people. There was another legend which told how mankind had emanated from the eyes of the deity, and spread themselves over the earth as "the flock of Ra," the Rotu, or Egyptians, and Nahsi, or negroes, being under the guardianship of Horos; the 'Amu, or Semites, and the white-skinned population of Libya and the north, being under that of Sekhet. According to another version, however, mankind, with the exception of the negroes, had sprung from the tears of Horos and Sekhet. Another myth, again, discovered by M. Naville in the tomb of Seti I., states that mankind once uttered hostile words against their creator Ra, who took counsel with Nun. Hathor or Sekhet, accordingly, was sent to slay them, and the earth was covered with their blood as far as Herakleopolis. Then Ra drank 7000 cups of wine made by Sekti of Heliopolis from the fruits of Egypt, and mingled with the blood of the slain; his heart

rejoiced, and he swore that he would not again destroy mankind. Rain filled the wells near Lake Mareotis, and Ra went forth to fight against his human foes. Their bows were broken, and themselves slaughtered, and the god returned victorious to heaven, where he created the Elysian fields of Aalu and the people of the stars, charging the sacred cow, the incarnation of Nut, and the prototype of the Greek Io, with their guardianship; while Shu, like Atlas, supports her on his two hands. Seb was then ordered to keep watch over the reptiles of earth and water, and Thoth over the lower world; the ibis, the cynocephalous ape, and the lunar disk, coming into existence at the same time.

Though it is difficult to trace much change or development in the religion of Egypt during the historical period as opposed to the prehistoric one, it is nevertheless plain that as time went on it assumed a more mystical and esoteric character, which shows itself most conspicuously in the monuments of the Ptolemaic and Roman age. It was from this theosophic phase that the Neo-Platonism of Alexandria and Neo-Platonic Christianity derived a large part of their ideas and principles. At the same time monotheism, or rather pantheism, became more clearly defined among the educated classes, the popular gods being resolved into mystical manifestations or emanations of the one divine substance.

From the first, however, as is shown more especially by the solar hymns, the Egyptian priests had a clear sense of the unity of God, in so far as to regard the deity they happened to be addressing at the moment as the one omnipotent, omniscient, and eternal ruler of the universe, to the exclusion of all others. But this is strictly what Professor Max Müller has called henotheism. A further change may be observed in the conception of the future life between the monuments of the Old Empire and those of the Middle and New Empires. The sadness and gloom that overshadow the latter had not yet been felt. The tomb of Ti at Sakkarah, for instance, presents us with pictures of the after world, in which the dead man lives over again his life in this; he farms, hunts, superintends his workmen and slaves, and feasts, just as he had done on earth. The shadow of the grave was not yet ever before the eyes of the Egyptian, and though he built tombs for himself while still alive, they mostly took the shape of pyramids, raised on the ground and pointed to the sky, not of dark and gloomy subterranean chambers. We should look in vain in them for those representations of the torments and trials which await the dead below, of the headless souls and horrible coils of the monstrous serpent Apepi, that startle us on the pictured walls of the royal tombs at Thebes. The myth of Osiris had not yet begun to exercise the terrible influence it afterwards obtained over the imagination of the

people, and the Book of the Dead still consisted of only a few simple chapters.

The Apotheosis of the Roman emperors had been long anticipated in Egypt. The kings were representatives and, in a political sense, incarnations of the deity; divine worship was offered to them, and priests were attached to their cult. The cult of the most powerful of the kings lasted for centuries, or after being discontinued was sometimes revived for dynastic and other reasons. Thus the cult of Sent of the second dynasty, and Sahura of the fifth, lasted into the age of the Ptolemies; that of Menes, of Ser (of the third dynasty), of Kheops, Khephren, Ra-tatf, Snefru, and Ramses II., down to the time of the Persian conquest; that of Usertasen III., to the reign of the Thothmes III.; though the pyramid-builders seem to have been forgotten in the epoch of the twelfth and thirteenth dynasties. The adoration paid to the kings had its root in that ancestor-worship which was always popular in Egypt, and was a survival from the prehistoric past.

The priesthood was divided into several classes; the high-priest of Amun and his associates ranking at their head, at all events under the New Empire. Next to these priests came the four orders of prophets, out of whom the ministers of the worship of the deceased kings were chosen; and below them again the *abu*, or divine fathers. Sacred scribes were attached to the temples, as well as servants and slaves. Monks,

too, lived in cells in the precincts. Besides the priests and prophets there were also priestesses and prophetesses; and women of the highest rank were proud to be the prophetesses, the singing-women, and the sistrum-players of Amun. The priests and their families were supported out of the revenues of the temple to which they belonged, and so formed a corporation; and all matters relating to religion and public worship were under their control. The embalmers were an inferior order of priests.

Art, Science, and Literature.—Egyptian art falls into two broadly-marked periods. The art of the Old Empire is realistic, vigorous, and full of originative genius; that of later times, stiff, conventional, and hieratic. Art is at its best in the age of the pyramid-builders; its future history is a history of continuous decline. Those who have not seen the diorite statue of Khephren or the wooden statue of the "Skeikh el-Belad" in the Bûlak Museum, or the exquisitely-painted bas-reliefs of the tomb of Ti, have no conception of what Egyptian art once was. The colossal productions of the Middle and New Empires hardly make up by grandness of design for the want of artistic originality. Spontaneousness and faithfulness to nature were but ill replaced by mysticism and symbolism.

Fluted columns with sixteen sides, which bear a close general resemblance to the Doric column (though wanting the *echinus* that distinguished the latter), first

meet us in the tombs of Beni-Hassan and Siut, and thus make their appearance as soon as the pyramid was superseded by the rock-cut tomb. Columns in the shape of four lotus stalks bound together, their blossoms forming the capital, also occur along with them, and introduce a series of columnar architecture, which reaches its final perfection in the papyrus and palm crowned pillars of Edfu and Esneh. The most peculiar and unpleasing feature of these columns is the square box on the top of the capitals. In the Ptolemaic age the shaft often terminates in a square adorned with four masks of Hathor, above which is a miniature temple façade. From the time of the eighteenth dynasty downwards, the shaft of the column is frequently replaced by the figure of Osiris, with the arms crossed over the breast.

The *Mastâbas* or mortuary chapels of the Old Empire, several of which may still be seen adjoining the pyramids of Gizeh, were replaced in later days by sumptuous temples, of which the Memnonium at Thebes may be taken as an example. These temples were built after the model of those raised to the gods by the monarchs of the Middle Empire, since we know of none that belong to the age of the Old Empire. They were intended, not for religious service, but for processions, and were jealously protected from the eyes of the "profanum vulgus." Hence the lofty shrines of stone with which they were surrounded; hence, too, the fact that walls and columns and ceilings

were covered with sculptures and paintings that could not be seen until light was introduced into them by the ruin of the buildings themselves. Even the secret passages at Denderah are decorated with carefully-executed bas-reliefs. Since the temples were used as fortresses, as well as for sacred purposes—a fact which will explain the ruined condition of many of them—they were guarded at the entrance by two pylons or towers, where the temple-watchmen lived. Before the pylon standards were planted, and between them was the entrance through which the procession passed into court after court, chamber after chamber, until the shrine itself was at last reached. Here stood the images of the gods. In the rock-cut temples of Nubia the Theban Trinity is hewn out of the stone, with the king himself seated in its midst.

The surface of the stone was covered throughout with bas-reliefs and brilliant paintings. In the latter art the Egyptians excelled from the earliest period. But they ostentatiously disregarded the most elementary rules of perspective, under the influence of the hieratic canon, though such objects as flowers, animals, fish, and butterflies, were produced with pre-Raffaelite fidelity.

The Egyptians were skilful artificers. Their chairs, couches, and other articles of household furniture, display great taste and variety, and their work in the precious metals and gems is of the highest order. Porcelain and glass are among their earliest produc-

tions, and they were acquainted with the art of soldering metals, including iron,—which shows that Hêrodotos (i. 25) was wrong in ascribing the discovery of this art to Glaukos—as far back at least as the eighteenth dynasty. Imbrication, or the art of laying plates of metal one upon the other, was also known to them, as well as the art of damascening.

Art in Egypt, as elsewhere, attained an earlier development than science. At the same time, the monuments left by Egyptian art imply a considerable knowledge of mechanics, geometry, and engineering. The Great Pyramid faces the four points of the compass with marvellous exactitude, and the obelisk of Queen Hatasu at Karnak, the tallest in the world, was cut out of the granite quarries of Assuân, engraved, polished, floated down the Nile, and set up in its place, in seven months! Professor Eisenlohr has discovered that mathematics were studied at the court of the Hyksos princes, as the Rhind Papyri contain a work on geometry (written for Apepi I.) which may be described as a treatise on applied arithmetic. Astronomy of a somewhat elementary character was cultivated for the sake of the calender. The year was divided into twelve months of thirty days, to which, in the prehistoric age, were added five more; but as in this way a whole day was lost every four years, recourse was had to the famous Sothic cycle, determined by the heliacal rising of Sopt or Sothis, the Dog-star, on the first of Thoth (the 28th

of July), once in 1460 years, when the year returned to its normal condition, and the inundation of the Nile commenced on the Egyptian New Year's Day. The end of one Sothic cycle fell in A.D. 139;[1] and the festival which commemorated the rising of Sothis was ascribed to the mythical days of the Hor-shesu. The *akhimu-urdu* or planets (*Har-tep-sheta* Jupiter, *Har-ka-her* Saturn, *Harmakhis* or *Har-desher* Mars, *Sebek* Mercury, and *Duau* or *Bennu* Venus) were distinguished from the *akhimu-seku* or fixed stars, and the sun was believed to wander through the heavens like the planets. It may be added that the month was divided into three decades, as among the Greeks and early Latins (cp. the *nundinæ*), each day being further divided into twelve hours, as in Chaldea.

It was in medicine, however, that Egypt attained any real scientific eminence. According to Manetho, the successor of Menes wrote treatises on anatomy, and a medical work mentioned in the Berlin Papyrus is said to have been first composed in the reign of a predecessor of King Sent of the second dynasty. Such statements, however, are due to the Egyptian fancy for antedating literary productions, and the oldest medical papyrus we possess (the Papyrus Ebers) does not mount back beyond the eighteenth dynasty. By that

[1] See Censorinus: "De Die Nat." 13. Lauth has shown that the era of Menophrês, mentioned by Theon, came to an end in B.C. 1321, and that consequently Menophrês must have reigned B.C. 2781. Scarabs exist bearing the name ef Men-nofer-Ra.

time medicine was in almost as advanced a state as in the age of Galen; the various diseases known were carefully distinguished from one another, and their symptoms were minutely described, as well as their treatment. The prescriptions recommended in each case are made out in precisely the same way as the prescriptions of a modern doctor. One of these was derived from a fashionable Semitic oculist of Byblos, but the greater part belonged to earlier Egyptian medical men, some of whom flourished under the first dynasties. The medicines used were of four kinds—draughts, blisters, powders, and clysters, minerals as well as vegetables being employed in their composition. But progress in medical knowledge, as in art, was checked in the time of the Middle Empire by the rule that new medicines and treatment were adopted by the doctor at the risk of being put to death if the patient died. Anatomy does not seem to have advanced so far as medicine, and Sir E. Wilson disputes the statement that mummies have been found with their teeth stopped with gold, while some have been found with broken bones grown together naturally. In fact, the anatomical theory of the Egyptians is sufficient to show that anatomy was still in its infancy. According to this the breath is drawn from the breast to the head, through thirty-two channels or veins, and then transmitted to the limbs. In the later days of Egyptian history, magical formulæ and exorcisms began to take the place of the older medical

prescriptions; diseases were referred to the malignity of evil spirits, and the priest and sorcerer superseded the physician. A demotic papyrus at Leyden is almost wholly occupied with charms, especially love-philtres.

Egyptian literature embraced the whole circle of the knowledge of the time. Writing was as old as the united monarchy, and the son of Menes was believed to have been an author. Already in the time of the sixth dynasty, we find an official buried at Gizeh who bears the title, "Controller of the library." But of this literature only a few papyri, and still fewer texts engraved on stone, like the poem of Pentaur, have come down to us, the papyri being written in hieratic and demotic. The most ancient we possess is the "Papyrus Prisse," composed under the eleventh dynasty, and containing two ethical treatises, one by Kakimma, who lived in the reign of Snefru, the other by Ptah-hotep, the son of king Assa of the fifth dynasty. Both treatises are collections of homely, practical wisdom, resembling the book of Proverbs, or the writings of Confucius. Equanimity, honesty, benevolence, and prudence, are inculcated, and the husband is told: "Love thy wife and cherish her as long as thou livest; be not a tyrant; flattery acts upon her better than rudeness." "If thou art wise," says Ptah-hotep again, "bring up thy son to fear God. If he obey thee, walking in thy steps, and caring for thy goods as he ought, then show him all favour. Yet

thy foolish son is also thine own offspring; estrange not thine heart from him, but admonish him." Ptah-hotep lived to the ripe age of 110 years, and though he begins by enumerating all the miseries of old age, like the writer of Ecclesiastes, he finds in the wisdom and experience it brings more than compensation.

The chief monument of the religious literature of Egypt is the Book of the Dead, in 106 chapters, now being critically edited by M. Naville. Portions of it were inscribed on the mummy-cases and tombs, and are met with in the latest of the demotic papyri. It was, in fact, the funeral ritual of the Egyptians, describing in mystical language the adventures of the soul after death, and the texts it must quote in order to escape the torments and trials of the lower world. It is the literary reflection of the Osiris myth, and grew along with the latter. A hieratic text of the eleventh dynasty gives two varying versions of the sixty-fourth chapter, ascribed to King Men-ka-ra, from which we may infer the antiquity of the latter. But only the essence of the work went back to the Old Empire. The rest consisted of additions and glosses, and glosses of glosses, which continued to be made up to the time of the Persians. The oldest portion seems to have been of a practically moral character, contrasting strikingly with the mystical tone of the later accretions, where the doctrine of justification by faith in Osiris has taken the place of that of good

works. Besides the Book of the Dead may be quoted the Litanies to the Sun-god, which are full of deep spiritual feeling, and are monotheistic in tone. Magical works are plentiful, but they mostly belong to the closing days of the kingdom. With these may be coupled the popular tales and romances, such as "The Tale of the Two Brothers," written by Enna under the nineteenth dynasty, and bearing some resemblance to the history of Joseph, or the story of Setna, which turns on the magical powers of the Book of Thoth, or the legend of the cure of Bent-resh, the daughter of the prince of Bakhten and sister-in-law of Ramses XII. A document at Leyden contains an exorcism by the help of which a husband sought to rid himself of the visits of his wife's ghost. Correspondence also occupies a considerable place in Egyptian literature. We have copies of private letters, like that of "The Sotem Mersuatef to his mistress, the priestess of Isis, Tanur," of public and royal correspondence, and of collections similar to Lord Chesterfield's letters or the "Complete Letter-writer." Among these is a letter in which the scribe contrasts the pursuit of literature with other trades and professions, very much to the disadvantage of the latter. The account of the Mohar's travels in Syria and Palestine, where he visited Aleppo and insular Tyre among other places, and describes his sufferings at the hands of robbers, in the time of the nineteenth dynasty, may also be included under this head. So, too, may the autobi-

ography of Saneha, a Semite of the Delta, who fled from Egypt for political reasons, and after slaying a sort of Goliah obtained wealth and power in the court of Ammuanshi, king of Upper Tennu, the later Edom. The desire of seeing his native land again came upon him in his old age, and he obtained permission from Amen-em-hat I. to return home. Perhaps, however, this latter work should more fitly be classed, as it is by Maspero, among the historical romances of the Egyptians, like the story of the capture of Joppa by Thutii, the general of Thothmes III., which bears a striking resemblance to the tale of Ali-Baba in the *Arabian Nights*. Closely connected with the epistolary branch of Egyptian literature are the papyri, which contain memoranda or accounts, as well as the official documents kept by the royal scribes. Among these are accounts, which show that provision was made for the support of sick labourers. Tributelists and geographical catalogues are perhaps the most important of this class of documents, though the mutilated Turin Papyrus, with its chronological table of Egyptian kings, has a still higher value. Judicial records, again, are not rare, even if the oldest deeds are those of the time of Tirhakah. One record describes the trial of certain conspirators against the life of Ramses III., with the punishments allotted to them. From others we learn that commissioners might be appointed to investigate charges afterwards brought before the judges in court, that the evidence

was taken down in writing, and that even cases between master and slave had to come before the judge. Petitions were presented directly to the king. Egyptian law was mild; torture seems to have been unknown, and mutilations exceptional. Even the punishment of death was rare, and usually took the form of decapitation or compulsory suicide. It is noticeable that the artist who had portrayed the naval victory of Ramses III. at Medinet Abu has depicted some of the triumphant Egyptians attempting to rescue the sinking crew of an enemy's ship—an act of humanity unparalleled among the other nations of the ancient world. The treaty between Ramses II. and the Hittites gives us an insight into the international law of the time.

As in most despotic countries, satirical writing and beast-fables were employed; indeed, Professor Mahaffy suggests that the beast-fable owes its origin to Africa. One of the caricatures in the satirical papyrus of Turin represents Ramses III. with a lion's head, playing draughts (a game of which he seems to have been very fond) with one of his harem, who is transformed into a gazelle.

Poetry, apart from the religious hymns, was much cultivated. The Epic of Pentaur, the poet-laureate of Ramses II., has been compared with the Iliad, though it resembles the Greek poem only in general character, since it never became popular, and owes its preservation to the vanity of the king whose imaginary deeds it records, and who, like Akhillês, is made to address

his horses by their names. The poem seems to have been selected after a sort of competitive examination. Its author, Pentaur, had been the private secretary of the royal librarian, Amenemen, who, in a letter preserved in the Sallier Papyrus I., scolds him for not having sent the provisions of the season to the palace. But epics and religious hymns were not the only forms in which Egyptian poetry clothed itself. A long poem on the praise of learning, probably composed in the time of the twelfth dynasty, is found in the Sallier Papyrus II.; the ode to the Nile, by Enna (the author of the "Tale of the Two Brothers"), is secular rather than religious; and the lyrics contained in the Anastasi Papyri are of great beauty. Egyptian poetry was simple in structure, and chiefly depended like Hebrew poetry upon the parallelism of ideas; but Ebers has shown that it also made use of rhyme and alliteration.

Historical literature is unfortunately rare, if we except such documents as the Harris Papyrus, the largest papyrus known, which gives the history of Ramses III. For the annals of the kings we must rather look to the walls of the temples and the tombs, or to the stelæ and similar monuments. It is seldom that we come across so straightforward an inscription as that of Piankhi, or one so free from interminable titles, and Piankhi was an Ethiopian.

Egyptian writing was a system of survivals. It was at once ideographic, syllabic, and alphabetic.

The older phases through which it passed were preserved along with those which, in a less conservative country, would have superseded it. The oldest written monuments we possess exhibit it already formed and complete. Its invention must, therefore, long precede the age of Menes. The characters are pictorial, primarily representing objects and ideas, while some are used as determinatives. Each character also denotes one or more syllables, and several further represent the single letters with which the words symbolised by them begin. For the sake of clearness the same word may be expressed ideographically (by a pictorial hieroglyph), syllabically, and alphabetically, all at once. Before the time of the Middle Empire, and probably as early as the first dynasty, a "hieratic" running-hand had been formed out of the hieroglyphics, and in the ninth century B. C. this became the "demotic" hand, the characters of which are still more unlike the original forms from which they were derived than those of the hieratic papyri. Hieratic is always written from right to left, whereas the hieroglyphics may run indifferently from left to right, or from right to left. As was shown by De Rougé, the Phœnicians of the Delta or Caphtor (Keft-ur, "Greater Phœnicia") adopted the letters of the Egyptian alphabet in the hieratic forms current in the Hyksos period, and handed them on to their kindred in Canaan, among whom they received new names, while retaining their

old values. The first letter, for example, ceased to be called Ahom, "the eagle," and became *Aleph* (*alpha*), "the ox."

Language, Law, Trade, and Culture.—The Egyptian language bears a distant resemblance to the Semitic dialects in grammar, though not in vocabulary. It is simple in structure, and inflectional in form, marking the relations of words by suffixes and composition. It is already an old language when we first meet with it on the monuments, and it changed considerably during the course of Egyptian history. The language of the Old or Middle Empire would have been unintelligible to the ordinary Egyptian of the time of Hêrodotos; thus on the phonetic side, *ts* became successively *d* and *t*, and Khufu or Kheops was called Shufu in later days.

Law has already been mentioned under the head of literature. As in England, the king was regarded as the source of justice, and at all events in the Ptolemaic period the judges went on circuit. The government was imperialistic. The king was a deified autocrat, but affairs were really managed by an organised bureaucracy. A council of thirty seems to have accompanied the monarch on his military expeditions, and he and the royal princes nominally commanded the army. The latter was divided into different corps, each named after its patron divinity. From the time of the nineteenth dynasty downward it consisted largely of Negro, Libyan, and other mercenaries; in

fact, as in the case of the Roman Empire, it came eventually to consist of them almost entirely. The fleet, with its one-oared galleys never attained a high development. The soldiers acted as a police-force at home, under magistrates (*ga*), who heard civil suits, and prefects (*mer*) were appointed over the large cities. The nomes had each their *ha* or governor.

Trade during the Old Empire seems to have been small. Egypt mainly depended on domestic agriculture, and, like China, was jealous of strangers. The *mafka*, or turquoise, and copper mines of Sinai, however, were early occupied and worked, and the use of bronze implies a knowledge of tin. A fragment of wrought plate-iron has been found in the Great Pyramid,[1] but this may have been made of *baa en-pe* or meteoric iron, rather than of *ba-nu-ta* or terrestrial iron. Certainly Thothmes III. received iron vessels as tribute from Syria and Phœnicia. Gold was worked under the first dynasties, but it was the Middle Empire that opened the Nubian gold mines. A plan of those of Rhedesieh and Kuban (Kobban) exists in a Turin papyrus of the nineteenth dynasty. With the rise of the New Empire and the Semitic occupation of the Delta, trade largely increased, favoured by the conquests in Asia. Corn, linen, and horses were exported in return for the products of Asia and Cush. The

[1] See *Transactions of the Oriental Congress in London*, 1875, pp. 396, 397.

expedition sent by Hatasu to Punt, or the Somâli coast, had a commercial object, and Punt henceforth supplied Egypt with incense, gums, cosmetics, monkeys, apes, hounds, and panther-skins. The Phœnicians brought vases of gold, silver, and terra-cotta, many of them with covers made in the shape of animals' heads. Sesostris attempted to join the Mediterranean and the Red Sea by a canal, and Necho despatched Phœnician sailors to circumnavigate Africa.

From the age of the earliest monuments downwards, the Egyptians were acquainted with all the luxuries and comforts of cultivated life. The country swarmed with artisans and handicraftsmen of all kinds. Glass-blowers are depicted on monuments of the twelfth dynasty, and a fragment of dark-blue glass bears the praenomen of Antef III. of the eleventh. Vases of beautiful blue porcelain go back to the age of the Old Empire, and the dyed cloths of Egypt were justly celebrated. Wine and beer were drunk, and dinner-parties were given by the wealthy, at which the guests sat on chairs. For amusements they had dancers, musicians, singers, tumblers, and jugglers, games like that of draughts, or field-sports. Their dress was light, as was natural in a hot climate, and sandals were unknown before the fifth dynasty. The head was shorn, and enormous wigs worn over it, partly for the sake of cleanliness, partly for protection from the sun. Artificial beards were

also used. Children went undressed before the age of puberty, and were distinguished by a single lock of hair on the left side. Their education was carefully attended to, and they were trained in "all the wisdom of the Egyptians." As stated by Hêrodotos, the Egyptians were monogamous; the king, however, was allowed to have several wives, and the great nobles might keep harems. Marriage between brother and sister was also permitted,—a survival from a primitive condition of polyandry. But the women in Egypt held a high position, very unlike that occupied by her in Greece or in modern oriental countries. She was the equal of her lord, went about freely and unveiled in public, and could ascend the throne in her own right as far back as the beginning of the second dynasty. Indeed, it would seem that at this period the children traced their descent through the mother rather than through the father. In character the Egyptians formed a strong contrast to the other leading nations of antiquity. Gentle, good-tempered, unwarlike, and humane, they achieved success in war only by the help of superior organisation and equipment. Home-loving and industrious, they made their country the seat of culture and material prosperity. If, like other southern races, they had not the same notions of truth as the northern European, their legal institutions show that they had a profound sense of justice and equity. Under the ever increasing tyranny and servility of the New

Empire, it is true, their political character deteriorated; but up to the last the pure-blooded inhabitants of Middle Egypt preserved some of that democratic spirit which still distinguishes the Egyptian of to-day. Their deep religious fervour was tempered by light-heartedness, and prevented from passing into fanaticism; and if from time to time they showed themselves excitable, it was the excitability of healthy children under a warm sun and a bright sky.

II.

BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA.

GEOGRAPHICALLY, as well as ethnologically and historically, Babylonia and Assyria form but one country. It is therefore with justice that classical writers sometimes speak of the whole district between the Euphrates and Tigris as Assyria, though Babylonia would no doubt have been a more accurate name. The district naturally falls into two divisions, the northern being more or less mountainous, while the southern is flat and marshy, and a sharp line of separation is drawn between them at a spot where the two rivers approach closely to one another, and the undulating table-land of the north sinks suddenly into the alluvial flats of Babylonia. It was in these rich and loamy flats, however, that the civilisation of Western Asia first developed. The northern plateau was inhabited by a mixture of uncultivated tribes at the earliest period of which we have any knowledge, and was known under the general name of Gutium or Guti (Kutu in Assyrian), first identified by Sir H. Rawlinson with the Goyim of Gen. xiv. 1. Gutium comprised the whole

country which stretched from the Euphrates on the west to Media on the east; the land of Nizir, with the mountain of Rowandiz, on which the ark of the Chaldean Noah was believed to have rested, being included within it. The later kingdom of Assyria formed a portion of it, as well as the great plain of Mesopotamia, which was bounded on the west by Palestine or Martu, the land of "the path of the setting sun," and on the north by Subarti, "the highlands" of Aram or Syria. The plain of Mesopotamia, now known as El-Jezireh, is about 250 miles in length, and is intersected by a single mountain ridge, which rises abruptly out of the plain, and, branching off from the Zagros range, runs southward and eastward under the modern names of Sarazúr, Hamrin, and Sinjar. The numerous *tels* and other remains of old habitations, even apart from the evidence of the Assyrian inscriptions, show how thickly this level region must once have been populated, though it is now for the most part a wilderness. North of the plateau rises a well-watered and undulating tract of country, diversified by low ranges of limestone hills, sometimes barren, sometimes clothed with dwarf-oaks, which often shut in rich plains and fertile valleys between their northern and north-eastern slopes and the main mountain-line from which they detach themselves. Beyond them are the lofty summits of the Niphates and Zagros ranges, where the Tigris and Euphrates have their sources, and by which Assyria was cut off from Armenia and Kurdistan.

Geography and Race.—Assyria took its name from the primitive capital of A-sur (or A-usar, "water-bank," later Assur), now *Kaleh Sherghat*, which stood on the right bank of the Tigris, midway between the Greater and the Lesser Zab, and was founded in prae-Semitic times. Some sixty miles to the north, beyond the greater Zab, was another city of nearly equal age, but originally of smaller size and importance, called *Nina*, Ninua, or Nineveh, "the fish-town," now represented by the mounds of Nebi Yunus and Kouyunjik, opposite Mossul, and built on the banks of the Tigris and Khusur, the modern Khosr. After the northward extension of the Assyrian kingdom, the capital was moved from Assur to Nineveh by Shalmaneser I. (about B.C. 1300), and from henceforward Nineveh remained the chief city of the empire. Calakh or Calah, however, the modern Nimrúd, founded by the same Shalmaneser, from time to time proved a formidable rival of its sister city, and was a favourite residence of Assur-natsir-pal, Shalmaneser II., and Tiglath-Pileser II. Between Calah and Nineveh lay Res-eni or Resen ("the head of the spring"), probably the Larissa (Al Resen, "city of Resen") of Xenophon (*Anab.* iii. 4), occupying the site of the mound of Selamiyeh. About ten miles to the north of Nineveh was Dur-Sargina (now Khorsabad,) built in the shape of a square by Sargon, whose palace was erected on a platform shaped like a T on its north-west side. Nine miles to the east of Nimrúd is Balâwat, called Imgur-

Bel, "the habitation of Bel," by Assur-natsir-pal, who built a temple there to the Dream-god, and from which the bronze gates commemorating the achievements of Shalmaneser II., and now in the British Museum, have been brought. On the northern frontier of Assyria was Tarbitsu, now Sherîf Khan, while Arbela, now Ervil, on the east, was an early seat of the worship of Istar, and a city of considerable importance. South-west of it lay Kalzu, enlarged and fortified by Sennacherib; while the Mespila (Muspilu, "low-ground") of Xenophon, where the Medes made a final stand against Kyros, must have been a little to the north of Nineveh. Besides these there were numerous other cities, more than twenty of the most important of which are enumerated among the insurgents against Shalmaneser II.; while the Bavian inscription of Sennacherib contains a long list of the smaller towns and villages in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital.

But in populousness and antiquity Assyria was far exceeded by the southern kingdom of Babylonia. Here were the centre and starting-point of the civilisation which afterwards spread throughout Western Asia. Its primitive inhabitants, whom we will term Accadians, traced their origin to the mountainous country south of the Caspian, from whence they had spread over Elam or Susiana, the shores of the Persian Gulf, and the fertile plain of Babylonia. The country subsequently known as Assyria was also once inhab-

ited by them; and even Harran, in the western part of Mesopotamia, seems to have been of Accadian foundation. Their physical type was a peculiar one; the features were long and narrow, the eyes small, the cheek-bones prominent, the nose slightly *retroussé*, and the beard long and straight. The languages and dialects spoken by them were agglutinative, and in phonology,—more especially the laws of vocalic harmony,—grammatical machinery, and vocabulary, approach more nearly to the Ural-Altaic family of speech than to any other known group of tongues. So far as we are at present acquainted with them, they fall into two divisions,—the first comprising the Amardian or Protomedic of Susiana, the Cassite of Kossæa, and the dialect spoken in the neighbourhood of Susa; while the second includes the two closely-related dialects spoken in Babylonia itself, chiefly distinguished by different peculiarities of pronunciation and the employment of different words, such as *duga* and *tsibba* for "good." The civilisation of Babylonia seems to have originated in Anzan or Southern Susiana and the coasts of the Persian Gulf, out of which, according to the legend, the semi-human Oannes arose at dawn with the revelation of culture and knowledge. The pictorial hieroglyphics which afterwards became the cuneiform characters were first invented in Elam, as is shown by such facts as the want of a simple character to denote the palm, or the use of the picture of a mountain to signify a country. In Babylonia,

however, the civilisation which had been brought from the mountains of the East underwent a rapid development. The country was divided into two halves, the northern half, comprehending Sippara and Babylon, being known as Accad (*Acada*), "the highlands," or rather the country of "the highlanders;" and the southern half, which included Erech, Lar'sa, and perhaps Ur, as Sumer or Shinar. The land on the western bank of the Euphrates went under the general name of Edinna, "the desert," the Eden of Scripture, the sacred grove and garden in the neighbourhood of Eridu, at the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates, being the "Garden of Eden" of Genesis. The sea extended as far as the latter city, identified by Sir H. Rawlinson with the modern Dhib, in which we may perhaps see a reminiscence of its old Sumerian title, Tsibba, "the good." The date of its foundation may be approximately fixed by the rate at which the alluvial soil has grown below it. In the time of Alexander the Tigris and Euphrates flowed by different mouths into the sea, as did also the Eulæus or Karun in the Assyrian epoch; and Dr. Delitzsch calculates that a delta of between forty and fifty miles in length has been formed since the sixth century B.C.[1]

The land of Edinna was irrigated by canals, and Ur, now Mugheir, was built on its outskirts. Sumer, called also "the country of the black faces," and "*the* country" *par excellence*, was the earliest seat of Chal

[1] See Pliny, *N. H.* vi. 130.

dean civilisation, and consequently took rank before Accad, the population of which had descended from the mountains of Elam after the settlement of the southern province. Among its cities may be mentioned Erech or Uruk, now Warka, whose Accadian name, "the city," implies that it had once been the capital of the whole country; Nipur, the city of Bel, now Niffer; Lar'sa, perhaps the Ellasar of Genesis, the city of the sun, now Senkereh or Sinkara; Zirgulla, now Zerghul; Dur or Diru, "the fortress," now Deyr; Chilmad, now Kilwadha; Duran or Duban, Karrak or Nisin, Amarda, or Marad, Esnunna or Umliyas, and Kul-unu, the biblical Calneh. Babylon, however, and the neighbouring town of Kis, now El-Hymer, were not included in Sumer. Babylon consisted of the two Accadian towns of Ca-dimirra, "the gate of God," and Din-Tir, "the seat of the tree (of life)," on opposite sides of the Euphrates, which, after the Semitic conquest, were united into one, known as Bab-ili or Babel, the Semitic translation of Ca-dimirra. The city was made the capital of the country for the first time by Khammuragas, a position it retained up to its entire destruction in B.C. 690 by Sennacherib, who choked the stream of the Arakhtu with its ruins. Rebuilt by Esar-haddon, it soon recovered its old importance, and after being united with its suburb, Barzip or Borsippa, became the centre of the empire of Nebuchadrezzar.

The chief city of Northern Accad was, like Baby-

lon, built on the two banks of the Euphrates, the larger half being called 'Sipar or Sippara, "the city of the sun" (now Abu Habba), and the smaller half Accad (or Agadhé). Agadhé subsequently took the title of "Sippara of the moon-goddess," whence the scriptural name Sepharvaim, "the two Sipparas." To the east of Sepharvaim was Tiggaba or Kute (Cuthah), now Tel-Ibrahim, and to the north Dur-aba, now Akkerkuf, and Is, now Hit. The northern part of the Accad is frequently termed Kar-Duniyas or Gan-Duni.

The country was intersected by a network of canals, the regulation of which was under special officers. The three chief of those which carried off the waters of the Euphrates to the Tigris above Babylon, were the Ar-malcha, entering the Tigris a little below Bagdad; the Nahr-malcha, running across to the site of Seleukeia; and the Nahr-Kutha, which passed through Tel-Ibrahim. The Pallacopas, on the western side of the Euphrates, supplied an immense lake in the neighbourhood of Borsippa. On the same side, to the south of Babylon, is the fresh-water lake of Nedjef, surrounded by sandstone cliffs of considerable height, forty miles in length and thirty-five in breadth at the broadest part. Below the lake the marshes where Alexander nearly perished (Arrian, *Exp. Al.* vii. 22; Strabo, xvi. 1, 12) extend as far as the sea. Here, on the shores of the Persian Gulf, lived the Caldai or Chaldeans, with their capital Bit-Yakin, when we first

hear of them in the ninth century B.C. Under Merodach-baladan they made themselves masters of Babylonia, and gave their name to the whole country in the Greek period. Northward of the Caldai were the Gambulai and other nomad tribes, among whom the Arameans, Nabatheans, and Pukudu or Pekod, may be mentioned.

The fertility of the soil was great.– Pliny tells us (*H. N.* xviii. 17) that wheat after being cut twice was good keep for sheep; and according to Bêrôsos, wheat, barley, sesame, ochrys, palms, apples, and many kinds of shelled fruit, grew wild. Indeed, wheat still does so in the neighbourhood of Anah, and we need not be surprised at the statement of Hêrodotos that grain commonly returned two hundredfold to the sower, and sometimes three hundredfold. Chaldea was the native country of the palm, the 360 uses of which were recounted by a Persian poem (Strabo, xvi. 1, 14); and we learn from Ammianus Marcellinus (xxiv. 3) that from the point reached by Julian's army to the margin of the Persian Gulf was one continuous forest of verdure.

As already stated, the primitive population of Babylonia and Assyria belonged to a race which may have been allied to the Turanian or Finno-Tatar. At all events it spoke an agglutinative language which has many affinities with those of the Ural-Altaic family. This primitive population was supplanted by the Semites—the Casdim or "conquerors" of the Bible—

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at some unknown period before the second millennium B.C. The Semitic element, however, was stronger and purer in Assyria than in Babylonia, where it produced a mixed type, which was still further crossed by the Elamite and Chaldean conquests. The Assyrian, on the other hand, displayed all the physical and moral characteristics of the Semitic race; and while Babylonia was the home of culture and learning, Assyria produced a breed of ferocious warriors and quick-witted traders.

History.—Until the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions our knowledge of Babylonian and Assyrian history was at once meagre and uncertain. With the exception of Hêrodotos, whose notices were scanty and of doubtful value, we had to depend almost entirely on the copyists and excerptists of Ktêsias and Bêrôsos. Ktêsias was a native of Knidos, and the physician of Artaxerxes Mnêmôn, but he seems to have been devoid of critical power. Portions of the annals compiled by Persian writers were translated for him, and with the help of these he endeavoured to destroy the credit of Hêrodotos as a historian. The annals, however, like those of Firdusi or of later Arabic writers, consisted for the most part of mere legendary tales and rationalised myths; we have, therefore, to seek in them not the history but the mythology of the Babylonians. Semiramis was the goddess Istar, Ninos the city of Nineveh, Ninyas or Zames the Sun-god. With

these legends Ktêsias mingled the Greek romance of Sardanapallos, and eked out his list of Assyrian kings with names partly imaginary, partly geographical. Some of these were doubtless due to the translators on whom he depended. In the later Persian period, however, Ktêsias becomes more trustworthy.

The work of Bêrôsos was of a far different character. He was a priest of the temple of Bel at Babylon, and is said by Eusebios and Tatian to have been a contemporary of Alexander the Great, and to have lived into the reign of Antiokhos Sôtêr. He had, therefore, special opportunities of knowing the history and astronomy of his country, upon which he wrote in Greek. Recent discoveries have abundantly established the trustworthiness of this Manetho of Babylonia, whose works, unfortunately, are known to us only through quotations at second and third hand. Since a cylinder of Antiokhos, the son of Seleukos, has been found inscribed in Babylonian cuneiform, while bilingual fragments in cuneiform and cursive Greek of the Seleukid age have also been discovered; and a contract tablet in Babylonian cuneiform, dated in the fifth year of the Parthian king, Pakoros, the contemporary of Domitian, exists in the Museum of Zürich, there is no reason why Bêrôsos should not have been equally well acquainted with both the Greek language and the old literature of his native country. And in spite of the fragmentary and corrupt state

in which his fragments have come down to us, we now know that he was so. His account of the Deluge, for instance, agrees even in its details with that of the cuneiform texts.

Josêphos seems to have known the original work of Bêrôsos, but the Christian writers quote him only indirectly through the compilation of Alexander Polyhistor (B. C. 80). Hence we can put no confidence in the numbers attached to the dynasties in which Bêrôsos, like his contemporary, Manetho, arranged the list of Babylonian kings. His Arabian dynasty, for example, seems to correspond with the Cassite dynasty of the inscriptions; but if so, the title "Arabian" must be corrupt, as well as the nine kings and 245 years assigned to it, since we know of at least nineteen Cassite monarchs, and the length of time the dynasty lasted must have been over 600 years. Minor dynasties, again, have been either run together or omitted from the list, as a fragmentary tablet which once contained a complete catalogue of legitimate Babylonian monarchs arranged in dynasties introduces a number of very short ones. This was probably the work of either Polyhistor or his copyists; at all events, the Assyrian dynasty of forty-five kings which is made to follow the Arabian one includes at least two dynasties, that of the Assyrian conqueror Tiglath-Adar, which lasted only a few years, and that of the native princes, who succeeded in shaking off the Assyrian yoke and main-

taining their independence for more than four centuries.

Bêrôsos confined his attention to Babylonian history; the history of Assyria seems to have been compiled by Megasthenês in the time of Seleukos Nikatôr (B.C. 290), from whom (as Professor Schrader has shown) it was extracted by Abydênos (B.C. 260). Abydênos in turn survives only in the quotations of the Christian writers. But as Nineveh and its monuments had long been destroyed, the only sources Abydênos could have had for his history must have been the records of Babylonia; and it is not surprising, therefore, that the extracts we possess from his work all relate to the period of the Second Assyrian Empire, when Babylonia was brought into close contact with the northern kingdom. The earlier period must have been for the most part a mere blank, or else filled up with myth and legend.

One more classical authority for Babylonian history remains. This is the valuable Canon of Ptolemy, preserved in the Almagest, and giving the chronology of Babylon from B.C. 747 downwards. It probably came from Bêrôsos. Other classical notices of Assyro-Babylonian history may be passed over; like those of Diodôros, they are little more than echoes of Ktêsias. It is only the Old Testament which gives us fuller and more trustworthy information.

It is, therefore, to the native texts that we have mainly to look for the history of Assyria and Baby-

lonia. These are partly contemporaneous with the events they record, partly more recent compilations. The statements of those that are contemporaneous may be frankly accepted, due allowance being made for oriental exaggeration and tendency to self-praise. The Assyrian historical documents, however, are singularly free from these faults. They were intended to be read by a large and well-educated public, and the practical character of the Assyrians made them realistic in style. The historical inscriptions are scrupulous in recording the names, and if possible the parentage, of the foreign princes whom they mention; every small town is carefully noted by name, and the numbers, whether of conquered populations and spoil, or of the Assyrian armies, are seldom round and never excessive. Even the disaster which befell Sennacherib—the least trustworthy of all the royal authors—in Palestine is not denied or glossed over; it is simply omitted, leaving a break which presupposes it. Of course, the same accuracy or trustworthiness cannot be expected in later compilations, and many of these, like the legend of Sargon of Agadê, merely embody popular tales. But such legends belong rather to Babylonia than to Assyria, where the historical sense was really remarkably developed, and the extreme faithfulness with which old documents were copied inspires us with confidence in the statements made regarding them. The Assyrians early possessed a fixed chronology, reckoned by the names of officers

called *limmi*, who were changed every year, and, like the eponymous archons at Athens, gave their name to their year of office. The chief events of each year were added to the name of its eponym, and in the earlier period of the empire the king himself assumed the office in his year of accession. We possess fragments of several editions of the Canon in which the names of the eponyms were recorded in order, and thus have an exact chronology of the empire from B.C. 913 to B.C. 659. Since the inscription of Rimmon-nirari I. is dated in the eponymy of Shalman-karradu, it is clear that the system of dating by eponyms was already in existence in the fourteenth century B.C.; and we may therefore trust Sennacherib when he asserts that a seal which belonged to Tiglath-Adar was carried off to Babylon 600 years before his own capture of that city, and that 418 years had elapsed between his invasion of Babylonia in B.C. 692 and the defeat of Tiglath-Pileser I. by the Babylonians; or this same Tiglath-Pileser, when he tells us that Samas-Rimmon had built the temple of Anu and Rimmon at Kalah-Sherghat 701 years before his own restoration of it. The system of eponyms, however, seems to have been confined to Assyria, and the early Chaldeans do not appear to have had any settled system of chronology. Their inscriptions, if dated at all, are dated by such events as the capture of a city or an inundation of the river. Still they must have had some more definite mode

of counting time, since Assur-bani-pal affirms that Cudur-Nankhundi, the Elamite, had oppressed Accad 1635 years before his own conquest of Shushan; while the table of Babylonian dynasties, first discovered by Mr. Smith, assigns to each king the length of his reign in years, months, and days. It must have been some such table as this which was used by Bêrôsos. It is unfortunate that only fragments of this table are preserved, as our acquaintance with early Babylonian history and chronology is extremely meagre and uncertain, and has to be gathered chiefly from the brick-legends of the early kings or stray notices in later inscriptions. An inscription of Assyrian origin which gives brief notices of the occasions on which the monarchs of Assyria and Babylonia had come into contact with each other since the reigns of Assur-bil-nisi-su and Cara-indas is useful, since our knowledge of Assyrian chronology enables us to tabulate the Babylonian kings mentioned in the text. It is only with the era of Nabonasar (B.C. 747), and the mutual help afforded by the Assyrian inscriptions and the Canon of Ptolemy, that an exact chronology of Babylonia begins. For the empire of Nebuchadrezzar the records of the Egibi banking firm are invaluable—dated deeds extending, year by year, from the reign of Nebuchadrezzar to the close of that of Darius Hystaspis.

The history of Babylonia, like that of most great

nations, begins with myth. Ten kings reigned over the country before the Deluge, their reigns lasting for 120 *sari*, or 432,000 years. The chronology as well as the number of reigns has a purely astronomical origin: the origin of the names has yet to be discovered. The first of these antediluvian kings was Alôros of Babylon, which indicates the Babylonian parentage of the whole story. Alôros took the title of "shepherd," a title which we find assumed by the early Chaldean princes, and which, like the ποίμην λαῶν of Homer, proves the pastoral habits of the people before they became civilised citizens. The second successor of Alôros, Amêlôn, came from Pantibibla or Booktown, possibly Sippara, as did also Daônus, the Dun, or "mighty one," of the inscriptions. Otiartes, which the native name Ubara-Tutu, "servant of the Setting Sun," shows must be corrected to Opartes, was the ninth of the line, and belonged to Larankha, the Surippak of the texts. His son and successor was Xisuthros, the hero of the Deluge.

With the Deluge the mythical history of Babylonia takes a new departure. From this event to the Persian conquest was a period of 36,000 years, or an astronomical cycle called *saros*.[1] Xisuthros, with his family and friends, alone survived the

[1] This assumes that Brandis is right in supplying 258 years for the fourth dynasty of Alexander Polyhistor where the numerals have dropped out in the MS.

waters which drowned the rest of mankind on account of their sins. He had been ordered by the gods to build a ship, to pitch it within and without, and to stock it with animals of every species. Xisuthros sent out first a dove, then a swallow, and lastly a raven, to discover whether the earth was dry; the dove and the swallow returned to the ship, and it was only when the raven flew away that the rescued hero ventured to leave his ark. He found that he had been stranded on the peak of the mountain of Nizir, "the mountain of the world," whereon the Accadians believed the heaven to rest,—where, too, they placed the habitation of their gods and the cradle of their own race. Since Nizir lay among the mountains of Pir Mam, a little south of Rowandiz, its mountain must be identified with Rowandiz itself. On its peak Xisuthros offered sacrifices, piling up cups of wine by sevens; and the rainbow, "the glory of Anu," appeared in heaven, in covenant that the world should never again be destroyed by a flood. Immediately afterwards Xisuthros and his wife, like the biblical Enoch, were translated to the regions of the blessed beyond Datilla, the river of death, and his people made their way westward to Sippara. Here they disinterred the books buried by their late ruler before the Deluge had taken place, and re-established themselves in their old country under the government first of Evêkhoos, and then of his son Khomasbolos. Meanwhile other colonists had

arrived in the plain of Sumer, and here, under the leadership of the giant Etana, called Titan by the Greek writers, they built a city of brick, and essayed to erect a tower by means of which they might scale the sky, and so win for themselves the immortality granted to Xisuthros. The spot where the tower was raised was the mound at Babylon, now known as the Amrám, where stood the temple of Anu, the palace of the kings, and the hanging gardens of Nebuchadrezzar, and the season they chose for building it was the autumnal equinox. But the tower was overthrown in the night by the winds, and Bel frustrated their purpose by confounding their language, and scattering them on the mound. Hence the place was called "the gate of God," though a later punning etymology connected it with *bâlal*, "to confound."

Now happened the war waged by Etana, Bel, Prometheus, and Ogygos, against Kronos or Hea, and the adventures of the giant Ner, who, along with Etana, finally found a seat among the crowned heads in the underworld of Hades. Now, too, the goddess Istar descended from heaven to woo the sons of men;—Alala, the wild eagle, the lion-son of 'Silele; Isullanu, the woodsman; and above all, Tammuz, the young and beautiful Sun-god, the Adônis of Semitic and Greek story. Slain by the boar's tusk of winter, Tammuz sank to the underworld, whither he was followed by Istar, and not

released till he had drunk of the waters of life. More famous even than Tammuz, however, was the solar hero whose name is provisionally read Gisdhubar, and who has been identified with the biblical Nimrod. Gisdhubar was the prototype of the Melkarth of Tyre and the Hêraklês of Greece; and the twelve labours of Hêraklês may be traced back to the adventures of Gisdhubar, as recorded in the twelve books of the great Epic of early Chaldea. The Epic, whose authorship was ascribed to one Sinliki-unnini, was preserved in the library of Erech, a city with which Gisdhubar was specially associated, though his birthplace was supposed to be Armarda, the city of "solar glory." Its date may be roughly ascribed to about B.C. 2000, but it belongs to the period when the Semitic race was already in possession of the land.

The Semitic conquest must have been a gradual one. The evidence of language shows that when the Semites first came into contact with the civilisation of Accad, they were mere desert-nomads, dwelling in tents, and wanting even the first elements of culture. These, however, they soon acquired from their neighbours, and with the trading instinct of their race quickly made themselves indispensable to the agricultural Accadians. Ur and the other towns on the western bank of the Euphrates were the earliest places in which they settled, but they soon overflowed into the whole plain of Sumer. Among

the oldest contemporaneous records we possess are those of Lig-Bagas or Ur-Bagas, king of Ur, whose rule extended over the whole of both Accad and Sumer. The great temple of the Moon-god at Ur was founded by him, and he adorned Erech, Nipur, Lar'sa, and other cities, with temples of vast size dedicated to the Sun, to Istar, and to Bel. Viceroys were established in different parts of the country; Khassimir was the governor of Nipur; and Gudea, the grandson of Lig-Bagas, ruled at Zerghul, where the statue of his architect has lately been found. Lig-Bagas seems to have been the first of the great Babylonian builders, and the enormous brick structures he has left behind, cemented with bitumen in the place of lime, show that architectural knowledge was already advanced. Buttresses, drains, and external ornamentation are all freely employed. The cuneiform system of writing had attained its full development; libraries, stocked with clay books, existed in the towns, signet stones were carved with artistic skill, and the country was intersected by canals and roads. The amount of human labour at the disposal of the monarch may be judged from the fact that the Bowariyeh mound at Warka, which covers the ruins of the temple of the Sun-god, is 200 feet square and 100 feet high, so that above 30,000,000 of bricks must have been used in building it. The calendar was already fixed and regulated, and the towers attached to the temples were used as observa-

tories. According to Nabonidos, Lig-Bagas lived 700 years before the age of Khammuragas.

His son and successor was Dungi, "the mighty one." Among his Accadian inscriptions he has left us a short one in Semitic,—a proof of the importance to which the Semites had now attained. They had in fact become a commercial aristocracy, and the time was not far distant when this commercial aristocracy would usurp the supreme power. It is difficult to know with which of the dynasties of Bêrôsos these kings of Ur are to be identified. If the Arabian dynasty is that of the Cassite princes, they ought to belong to the nameless dynasty which followed the eight "Median" kings. These Medes, it may be observed, must have taken their name from the Accadian *mada*, "country," and may possibly have come from Sumer, often called *Kingi*, "the land." In this case the capture of Babylon by them would represent the overthrow of a local line of princes who held sway in that city.

The unification of the country under Lig-Bagas and Dungi was of short duration. It soon broke up again into small independent states. When Cudur-nankhundi, the powerful Elamite monarch, invaded Babylonia he seems to have found kings with Semitic names reigning there; but the book of Genesis represents another Elamite conqueror, Chedorlaomer or Cudur-Lagamar, as dominating over two Babylonian princes, Amar-phel of Sumer, and Arioch of

Lar'sa, as well as over a king of Gutium. It is curious that the inscriptions contain a record of a second Eri-Acu or Arioch, king of Lar'sa, who was son and vassal of an Elamite sovereign, Cudur-Mabug; and it is still more curious that just as Cudur-Lagamar extended his power to Palestine according to Genesis, Cudur-Mabug also styles himself "the father of Phœnicia."

The power of Cudur-Mabug and his son Eri-Acu, however, does not seem to have extended over the whole of Chaldea, though Eri-Acu claimed to be "king of Sumer and Accad." Accad, at all events, including Babylon, was in the possession of a Semitic dynasty, whose capital was Agadé. The most brilliant representative of this dynasty was Sargon I., whose patronage of learning caused the library of Agadé to become one of the most famous in Babylonia. It was for him that the great work on astronomy and astrology was compiled in seventy-two books, which Bêrôsos translated into Greek, and another work on terrestrial omens was also compiled for the same monarch. Legends naturally gathered round the name of this Babylonian Solomon. Not only was he entitled "the deviser of law, the deviser of prosperity," but it was told of him how his father had died while he was still unborn, how his mother had fled to the mountains and there left him, like a second Moses, to the care of the river in an ark of reeds and bitumen; and how he was saved by Acci,

"the water-drawer," who brought him up as his own son, until the time came when, under the protection of Istar, his rank was discovered, and he took his seat on the throne of his forefathers. It is indeed possible that Sargon was a usurper, since his name means "the constituted king," and seems as if it had been assumed after his accession to power. However this may be, he was a conqueror as well as a legislator and friend of literature. More than once he attacked the Elamites successfully, though he was unable to wrest Sumer out of their hands. He made several campaigns against Syria and Palestine, in the course of which he crossed into Cyprus, and there, as on the opposite shores of the mainland, he caused images of himself to be erected. These campaigns occupied three years, and it was to them that the influence of Babylonian culture upon the populations of the eastern basin of the Mediterranean must first be traced. Towards the end of his life he even penetrated as far as Maganna, or the peninsula of Sinai, in quest, no doubt, of the turquoise and copper mines that had so long been worked there by the Egyptians. It is perhaps to these expeditions that Manetho refers when he asserts that the Hyksos fortified Jerusalem for fear of the Assyrians. After overthrowing Kastubila of Cazalla, and quelling an insurrection which broke out among "the elders" of Accad, Sargon ended his long reign of fifty-four years, and was succeeded by his son, Naram-Sin, who

maintained the military fame of his father by conquering Ris-Rimmon of Apirak and marching into Maganna. A Babylonian cylinder, in which the title of divinity is given to Naram-Sin, was found by General di Cesnola in the treasury of the Cyprian temple of Kurion, and not only shows that apotheosis was not unknown in Babylonia, but also that the influence of the kings of Agadé was still strong in the far west. But the reign of this deified king ended after all in disaster. The conquest of Maganna seems to have brought the dynasty of Sargon under Egyptian influence, to which the apotheosis of his son may perhaps be traced. At all events in Agadé, as in Egypt, it became possible for a woman to be at the head of the state, and Naram-Sin was followed by a queen, Ellat-Gula. But a custom which suited Egypt did not equally suit the Semites of Babylonia, and Ellat-Gulla was the last of her race. A horde of strangers swept over the country, and Agadé or Accad never again held the rank of a capital. If we may believe Nabonidos, Naramsin, son of Sargon, had founded the temple of the Sun-god at Sippara 3200 years before his own time—that is to say, B.C. 3750.

The conquest of Babylonia which had the most enduring consequences was that by the Cassi or Kossæans of Western Susiania. Their leader seems to have been named Khammuragas; if so he must be distinguished from an earlier Khammuragas, the

son of Ebisu, whose conquest of Rim-Agu had united the whole country under the sway of a single ruler, and had made Babylon a capital city. This Rim-Agu of Sumer, after the conquest of Karrak and Duran, which gave him possession of the marches and the whole country as far as the shores of the Persian Gulf, claimed the imperial title of "king of Sumer and Accad,"—a title, however, to which he had no right. He filled Ur, which at one time had been subject to the princes of Karrak, as well as other cities, with public buildings, though his capital was fixed at Lar'sa. With the help of his Elamite allies he succeeded in repulsing the first attack of the northern invader; but a second attack proved too strong for him; the forces of Elam and Sumer were overthrown, and Khammuragas became king of the whole of Babylonia. From this time onward the country had remained a united monarchy.

The Cassite dynasty must have lasted for several centuries, and probably included more than one line of kings. At any rate it is otherwise difficult to find a place for a Cassite dynasty which traced its descent from the god Sukamuna, and one of whose kings, Agu-kak-rimi, the son of Tassi-gurumas, has left us a long inscription, unless we throw it back into the period that preceded the era of Sargon of Agadé, and identify it with the Median dynasty of Bêrôsos. It is certainly noticeable that Agu-kak-rimi calls himself king of Accad and Babylon only, not of

Sumer. However this may be, it was under the Cassite dynasty that the kingdom of Assyria first took its rise,—partly, perhaps, in consequence of the Asiatic conquests of the Egyptian monarchs of the eighteenth dynasty. Later legends ascribe the foundation of the kingdom to the Moon-god, while Sargon boasts of "the 350 kings" who had preceded him and had "sent forth the people of the land of Bel"; but Assyria was but a portion of the empire of Gutium in the age of Cudur-Lagamar, and the earliest Assyrian princes of whom we know were merely petty rulers of Assur, the original capital of Assyria, from which it derived its name. One of these rulers was Samas-Rimmon, the son of Ismi-Dagon, who built the temple of Anu and Rimmon at Assur, and whose date is fixed at B.C. 1820 by an inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I. It was not till long afterwards that "the kingdom was founded" by Bel-sumeli-kapi, and the chieftains of Assur became kings of Assyria. From this time forward, however, their power continued steadily to grow; Assur-zacir-esir and Adar-tukul-Assur even ventured to contend with Babylonia, and in B.C. 1400 the Cassite king married an Assyrian princess. Her son Kara-Murdas was murdered by the party opposed to Assyrian influence, but the usurper, Nazi-bugas, was quickly overthrown by the Assyrians, who placed a vassal-prince on the throne. This event may be considered the turning-point in the history of the

kingdoms of the Tigris and Euphrates; Assyria henceforth takes the place of the worn-out monarchy of Babylonia, and plays the chief part in the affairs of Western Asia until the day of its final fall. In little more than a hundred years later the Assyrians were again in Babylonia, but this time as avowed enemies to all parties alike; Babylon was captured by the Assyrian monarch Tiglath-Adar in B.C. 1270, and the rule of the Cassite dynasty came to an end.

But the avenger was at hand. Hardly was Tiglath-Adar dead when the Hittites assailed the Assyrian empire on the north and west, and the Babylonians seized the opportunity to make themselves free. The new line of Babylonian sovereigns, however, was Semitic in name and race. It lasted a short time only. The country was divided both in nationality and in interests. Civil wars distracted the kingdom, and shortlived dynasties were founded by the non-Semitic tribes of the sea-coast or the Semitic inhabitants of the great cities. The adherents of the old Cassite dynasty, as well as the partisans of Assyria, contrived from time to time to place a nominee of their own upon the throne; while the Elamites on the east and the Assyrians on the north were perpetually at war with the unhappy kingdom, or else intriguing in its midst. The literature and culture of Babylonia migrated into Assyria, where kings whose real delight was in war

and hunting affected to patronise learning and encourage horticulture. The most eminent among these was Tiglath-Pileser I. He carried his arms as far as Kilikia and the Mediterranean, shattered the power of the Hittites and their kinsmen in the north, swept the wild district of Kurdistan, and in B.C. 1130, after a momentary repulse at the hands of Merodach-iddin-akhi, the Babylonian king, defeated his antagonist on the banks of the Lower Zab and ravaged Babylonia, capturing Sippara, Opis, and even Babylon, the capital, itself. Merodach-iddin-akhi saved himself by a timely submission; but a desultory war continued between his successors and Assur-bel-kala, the son of Tiglath-Pileser.

After this Assyria sinks for a while below the horizon of history. Its power had been founded on the individual energy and military skill of its monarchs, and vanished altogether under a feeble prince. Pethor, at the junction of the Sajur and Euphrates, along with the adjacent territory, fell into the hands of the Hittites and Syrians; David was enabled to carry the Israelitish arms as far as the banks of the Euphrates; and Assyria itself was overrun by the victorious armies of the Babylonian king, Sibir. Once more, however, it revived under Assur-dayan II., whose son, Rimmon-nirari II. (B.C. 911–889), and great-grandson, Assur-natsir-pal (B.C. 883–858), made the name of Assyria again terrible to the surrounding nations. Assur-natsir-pal was the

most brutal and ferocious of even the Assyrian kings; but he was also an energetic warrior and a great conqueror. The limits of his empire exceeded those of Tiglath-Pileser I.; Kurdistan, Armenia, and Mesopotamia were traversed by his armies again and again, and his image was sculptured on the rocks at the sources of the Tigris by the side of those of Tiglath-Pileser I. and his own father, Tiglath-Adar II. Nizir and its mountains, where the ark of the Chaldean Noah had rested, were overrun and ravaged, and the footsteps of the Assyrian conqueror were marked by impalements, by pyramids of human heads, and by unspeakable barbarities. Nebo-bal-iddina of Babylon was defeated; Sangara of Carchemish and his brother princes paid tribute, and on the shores of the Mediterranean Assur-natsir-pal received the submission and treasure of the rich and unwarlike cities of Phœnicia. But these distant raids produced little else than misery abroad and accession of wealth to the royal treasury at home; no attempt was made to hold the conquests that had been gained, or to compensate for the destruction of culture in the West by introducing into the rude regions of the East the borrowed civilisation of Assyria. The cities of Assyria, nevertheless, were enriched with the spoils of foreign victory. Splendid palaces, temples, and other public buildings were erected, and adorned with elaborate sculptures and rich painting. Calah, which had been founded by

Shalmaneser I., B.C. 1300, was rebuilt by Assur-natsir-pal, who made it his favourite residence, and established a library there. His successor was his son, Shalmaneser II., named probably after the founder of Calah.

Shalmaneser II., whose long and prosperous reign of thirty-five years marks the climax of the First Assyrian Empire, inherited his father's vigour and military talent, along with greater political ability and appreciation of culture. His opening campaign was directed against the wild tribes of the north-east; Arame of Van and the Minnians of Urumiyeh were next attacked; and after them the Hittites of Carchemish and their allies, among whom Pikhirim of Kilikia may be mentioned. By the conquest of Tul-Barsip or Barsampsê, on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, and the capture of Pethor (now Tash-atan), the Assyrians regained possession of the ford across the river, and in B.C. 854 came into conflict with Hamath. Here Shalmaneser found himself confronted by a confederacy of western princes, under the leadership of Hadad-idri, or Hadadezer, of Damascus and Irkhulena of Hamath, whom a common danger had aroused to oppose the threatened advance of the Assyrian forces. But the confederacy was shattered in the battle of Karkar or Aroer, in which, among others, Ahab of Israel took part with 2000 chariots and 10,000 infantry, and the Orontes was choked with the slain. The Assyrians, however,

had themselves suffered so much that Shalmaneser was unable to follow up his victory, and two years afterwards turned his attention to Babylonia, which he invaded and reduced to a state of vassalage, under the pretext of helping the legitimate king, Merodach-suma-izcur, against his insurgent brother. It is on this occasion that we first hear of the Caldai or Chaldeans, whom the Assyrians found inhabiting the marshy district of the Persian Gulf. After thus securing his frontier on the south, Shalmaneser again marched against Syria (B.C. 850). The war lasted, at intervals, for eleven years, during which Hadadezer was succeeded by Hazael, and Shalmaneser obtained several barren victories, and claimed others which a strict criticism must deny to him. In B.C. 842, however, Hazael really suffered a decisive defeat on the heights of Shenir, and his camp, along with 1121 chariots and 470 carriages, fell into the hands of the Assyrians, who proceeded to besiege him in his capital, Damascus. But the siege was soon raised, though not before Jehu of Israel had sent tribute; and after wasting the Hauran, Shalmaneser marched to Beyrout, and there carved an image of himself on the rocky promontory of Bahli-rasi, at the entrance to the Nahr el-Kelb.

The defeat of Hazael had removed the only rival Assyria had to fear. From this time forward Shalmaneser contented himself with expeditions to distant regions, such as Phœnicia, Melitêne, Kap-

padokia, and Armenia, for the sake of exacting tribute. After B.C. 834 he ceased to command his troops in person, the tartan or general-in-chief, Dayan-Assur, taking his place. The infirmities of old age, which had no doubt obliged him to take this step, further led to the rebellion of his eldest son, Assur-dayan-pal, which troubled the last days of the old king, and well nigh proved fatal to him. Twenty-seven cities, including Nineveh and Assur, which probably resented the preference shown to Calah, as well as numerous smaller towns, declared for the pretender, and it was with considerable difficulty that the revolt was put down by Shalmaneser's second son, Samas-Rimmon, who shortly afterwards succeeded him. Samas-Rimmon (824–811), and his son, Rimmon-nirari III. (811–782), fairly maintained the empire they had received; but their efforts were chiefly expended upon campaigns in Armenia, Media, and the neighbouring regions, from which we may perhaps infer that the wild tribes of the east had begun to infest the Assyrian frontier. Samas-Rimmon, however, also endeavoured to restore the supremacy of Assyria in Babylonia. Merodach-baladhsu-ikbi of Babylon and his allies were defeated with great slaughter at Dur-Papsukul about B.C. 820, and eight years later he succeeded in entering Babylon. Rimmon-nirari III. obliged Mariha of Damascus to pay him tribute, as well as the Phœnicians, Israelites, Edomites, and Philistines. But

though the royal annals show that the kings still led their armies out to battle year by year, it is plain that the power and vigour of the reigning dynasty were wearing out. The campaigns were either resultless, or else were made for purely defensive purposes. The empire of Shalmaneser had melted away. A few more princes followed Rimmon-nirari III., and then in B.C. 763 an eclipse of the sun took place on the 15th of June, and the city of Assur revolted. In B.C. 761 the revolt had spread to Arrapakhitis, and two years later to Gozan. In B.C. 758 it was indeed stamped out in Assur, but the more distant provinces were lost. Three years afterwards, Assur-nirari, the last of his line, ascended the throne. His reign lasted only ten years. What was left of the Assyrian empire had been undermined by decay and discontent, the army finally declared against the monarch, and he and his dynasty fell together. On the 30th of Iyyar, or April, B.C. 745, Pul or Pôros seized the vacant crown, and assumed the name of the ancient conqueror, Tiglath-Pileser.

With the accession of Tiglath-Pileser II. the Second Assyrian Empire may be said to begin. This Second Empire differed essentially from the first. The usurper was an organizer as well as a conqueror and sought for the first time in the history of Western Asia to give his conquests a consolidated and permanent character. The conquered provinces were no longer loosely connected with the central

power by the payment of tribute, which was refused as soon as the Assyrian armies were out of sight; nor were the campaigns undertaken by the kings of Nineveh mere raids, whose chief objects were prestige and plunder. The conquests of the Second Empire were made with a fixed purpose, and in pursuance of a definite line of policy, and, once made, they were tenaciously preserved. The conquered nations became subject provinces, governed, wherever possible, by Assyrian satraps; while turbulent populations were deported to some distant part of the empire. Each province and capital city had its annual contribution to the imperial treasury fixed and regulated; and centralisation, with its attendant bureaucracy, superseded the old loose union of mutually hostile states and towns. Tiglath-Pileser took good care that the revolts to which he owed the crown should for the future be impossible. To him is due the inauguration of the principle which was afterwards applied by Darius Hystaspis with so much success to the organisation of the Persian empire. The title to power which his birth denied him was secured by the institutions he established.

The Second Assyrian Empire was essentially a commercial one. It was founded and maintained for the purpose of attracting the trade and wealth of Western Asia into Assyrian hands. The instincts of the warrior and crusader had made way for the more deeply-rooted trading instincts of the Semitic race.

The expeditions undertaken against the barbarous tribes of the east and north were made solely for the purpose of protecting the frontier and caravan roads, and of keeping the predatory excursions of the mountaineers in check. The resources of the empire were really reserved for the subjugation of Babylonia, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, the rich and civilised marts of the ancient world. It was to divert the stream of commerce into their new satrapy of Carchemish that the Assyrian monarchs endeavoured to destroy the merchant communities of Tyre and Sidon.

Babylonia was necessarily the first to feel the effects of the new policy. Before six months were over Tiglath-Pileser was leading his forces against the southern kingdom. The northern part of Babylonia was annexed to Assyria, and secured by a chain of fortresses. After chastising the Kurds, the Assyrian king next turned westward. Sarduris of Armenia, at the head of a confederacy of northern princes, in vain essayed to bar his way. The confederacy was defeated in Komagênê, Arpad (now Tel Erfâd) was captured, and all Syria lay at his feet. For the present he was content with exacting tribute from the Hittites, the Arameans, and the Phœnicians. Hamath, then in alliance with Uzziah of Judah, was conquered in 738, and its nineteen districts placed under Assyrian officers. For the first time we find the system of deportation applied on a large scale. Three years later Sarduris of

Ararat was again attacked, and the neighbourhood of his capital, Dhuspas or Tosp, now Van, was devastated over a space of 450 miles. Freed from any danger from the north, Tiglath-Pileser now eagerly seized the opportunity of overthrowing the power of Damascus offered by the request of the Jewish king, Ahaz, for protection from his Syrian and Israelitish enemies. Rezin was defeated and besieged in his capital, Damascus, in 734, and the whole country far and near, including Samaria, Ammon, Moab, and the Philistines, was reduced to subjection. At length, after a siege of two years, Damascus surrendered, its inhabitants were enslaved, and Rezin was put to death. Syria became an Assyrian province, and all the princes of the West were summoned thither to do homage to the conqueror, while Tyre was fined 150 talents of gold, about £400,000. One of the chief objects of Tiglath-Pileser's policy had thus been achieved. But Babylonia still remained. In B.C. 731, accordingly, the Assyrian armies again marched into Chaldea. Ukin-ziru, the Khin-ziros of Ptolemy, was slain, Babylon and the other great cities were taken, and in B.C. 729 Tiglath-Pileser assumed the imperial title of "King of Sumer and Accad."

But he did not live long to enjoy his success. In B.C. 727 he died, probably without children, and Shalmaneser III., one of his generals, succeeded to his empire and his policy. Shalmaneser, however, failed

to found a dynasty. After an unsuccessful attempt to capture Tyre, he died, or was murdered, during the siege of Samaria in B.C. 722, and the supreme power was seized by another general, who assumed the venerable name of Sargon, "the constituted king." Sargon claimed descent from two early kings, Bel-bani and Adasi, but his claim was probably admitted only by the flattery of a court. In B.C. 720 he took Samaria, and deported 27,200 of its leading inhabitants into Gozan and Media, the remainder being placed under an Assyrian governor. Meanwhile Sargon had been reminded that the work of Tiglath-Pileser had been but half accomplished. As long as Elam remained unconquered, it was always able to threaten Babylonia, and menace the flank of the Assyrian empire. Entrenched behind its mountains, however, and furnished with all the resources of an ancient civilisation, Elam was difficult to subdue, and its subjugation could bring no profit to its conqueror. The news, therefore, that the Elamite king, Khumba-nigas, had invaded Babylonia was highly disturbing, but Sargon was obliged to content himself with simply driving the Elamites back. Affairs in the west more imperatively claimed his attention. Here the weak point in the empire was, strangely enough, the little kingdom of Judah. But Judah was a mountainous country, its capital was almost impregnable, and its conquest, troublesome as it would be, was valueless to the traders of

Nineveh. At the same time it screened Egypt, whose Ethiopian conquerors endeavoured to defend themselves against the growing power of Assyria by stirring up trouble in Palestine. Sargon's aim, therefore, was to inflict a blow upon the Egyptians without throwing away his strength on the barren conquest of Judah. He effected his purpose by crushing the Philistines, and so making his way to the Egyptian frontier along the sea-coast. The Egyptian army was defeated at Raphia in B.C. 720, and Sargon was satisfied with carrying the spoil of Hanun, king of Gaza, to Nineveh. The last attempt of Syria to free itself, under the leadership of a Jew, Ilu-bihid or Yahu-bihid, had been already stamped out in fire and blood, and Hamath, where he had ruled, was colonised with 4300 Assyrians. In 717 all was ripe for the final assault upon Carchemish (now Jerablûs), the wealthy capital of the once powerful Hittites. The city was taken: its last monarch, Pisiris, with all his treasures, fell into the hands of Sargon, and Assyria became mistress of the trade of Western Asia. Carchemish commanded the great caravan road from the East, and its satrap was one of the most important of the Assyrian governors. From this time onward every effort was made to attract all the commerce of Asia to Carchemish: its maund became the standard weight of the empire, and no pains were spared to destroy the rival trade of the Phœnicians.

But the fall of Carchemish was not unavenged by the kindred population of the north. Mita of the Moschians, Ursa of Armenia, and their allies from the ranges of the Taurus, now fell upon the conqueror. The struggle was long and bitter, but at length Sargon prevailed. Van submitted, Armenia was ravaged, and Ursa, the leader of the coalition, committed suicide. The Assyrian forces penetrated into the trackless mountains of distant Media; Kilikia and the Tibarêni were placed under an Assyrian governor, and the city of Malatiyeh was razed to the ground. Sargon could now turn to Palestine, where Hezekiah of Judah, encouraged by Babylonia and Egypt, had refused to pay the tribute due to his Assyrian lord. But in 711 Sargon swept Phœnicia and Judah, Jerusalem was captured, and the Jewish king compelled to submit. The suppression of the revolt in Palestine came none too soon. Aided by the Elamites, Yagina or Yugæos, a Chaldean prince, had made himself master of Babylonia after Tiglath-Pileser's death, and the short campaign of Sargon in 721 did not prevent his son, Merodach-baladan, from succeeding to his power. For twelve years Merodach-baladan was undisturbed. But he knew well that the Assyrian king was only waiting to complete his work in the east before asserting his claim to Babylonia. When, therefore, the coalition of the northern nations was breaking down before the Assyrian arms, the Baby-

lonian king sent embassies to Judah and the neighbouring principalities, in order to concert measures of defence against the common enemy. Sargon, however, fell upon Palestine before either Babylonia or Egypt was ready to move, and when Merodach-baladan at last stirred he found himself single-handed face to face with the whole might of the Assyrian empire. The issue could not be doubtful, and though the Elamites hastened to his assistance he was driven first from Babylon, and then from the cities of the south. His last refuge, Bit-Yagina in the marshes, was taken by storm in 709, and he himself was loaded with chains and sent to Nineveh. Sargon now set himself to obliterate all traces of the Chaldean usurpation. The turbulent desert tribes, whom the late king had settled in Babylonia, were exterminated or expelled, and Sargon did his utmost to ingratiate himself with the native priesthood. His coronation in Babylon was like the coronation of the German emperors at Rome, and seemed to give him that title of legitimacy which was wanting in his own country. In the following year his pride was gratified by the voluntary submission of Uperi of Dilvun, in the Persian Gulf, the sacred island of Accadian mythology, as well as of the Greek and Phœnician kings of Kypros, the island of Yavnan or the "Ionians," where he caused a monument of himself to be erected at Kition or Larnaka, inscribed with pseudo-archaic cuneiform characters. It was the first

direct contact between Greek and Assyrian; the culture of Babylonia and Assyria had long since been indirectly leavening the Hellenic world, but the barrier that had existed between them was now broken down. The divided nationalities of Western Asia had been fused into the Assyrian empire, and Assyria had stepped into the place once occupied by Egypt in the history of mankind. Elam was left the solitary rival of the new power in Asia, and the last years of Sargon's life were spent in a desultory war with it.

The political idea conceived by Tiglath-Pileser was thus realised. Egypt, it is true, was still unconquered, but for how long depended on the energy and ability of Sargon's successors. At first, however, these seemed to be wanting. The fierce old king was murdered in his new city of Dur-Sargina or Khorsabad, and succeeded by his son Sennacherib on the 12th of Ab (July), B.C. 705. Brought up in the purple, Sennacherib had none of his father's virtues or talents. Vain-glorious, tyrannical, and weak, he owed the preservation of the empire that had been bequeathed to him rather to the thoroughness with which all elements of opposition had been crushed than to any efforts of his own. The boastful style of his inscriptions contrasts sharply with the plain simplicity of his father's, and makes it needful to examine carefully the accuracy of their contents.

Merodach-baladan had escaped from captivity,

and the death of Sargon was the signal for a fresh attempt on his part to establish himself at Babylon. But a battle at Kis again drove him from the country, and Sennacherib found himself free to devastate Ellip (in the neighbourhood of the modern Elwend). Then he fell upon Phœnicia (B.C. 701). Zidon and other cities were captured, and the Phœnician king, Lulia or Elulæus, forced to take refuge in Kypros. The turn of Judah came next. Hezekiah's allies in Askalon and Ekron were severely punished; the Jewish towns, with a great quantity of spoil and captives, were taken; and the Jewish king himself sought forgiveness by the gift of 30 talents of gold, 300 talents of silver, precious stones, couches of ivory, tusks of wild bulls, dancing girls and eunuchs, and male and female musicians. But Sennacherib refused to be appeased, and the siege of Jerusalem was determined upon. Then came the disaster to the Assyrian arms, which Egyptian legend ascribed to the piety of their own priest-king Sethos. As a matter of fact, Sennacherib claims to have defeated Tirhakah of Egypt at Eltekeh, when the latter came to the help of Hezekiah; but as he did not pursue his success, it is probable that be lost as much as he gained. Like Xerxes in Greece, Sennacherib never recovered from the shock of the disaster in Judah. He made no more expeditions against either Southern Palestine or Egypt.

One cause of this was the unquiet state of Baby-

lonia, which could not forget that the power that claimed supremacy over her was a mere *parvenu.* The year after the campaign in Palestine (700 B.C.), a Chaldean named Suzub stirred up revolt, which Sennacherib had some difficulty in suppressing. Merodach-Baladan and his followers had settled at the mouth of the Eulæus, and in 697 Sennacherib found it necessary to have a fleet built and manned by Ionians and Phœnicians in the Persian Gulf, by means of which he destroyed the Chaldean settlement. But Suzub, with the help of the Elamites, had excited an insurrection in his rear, which was, however, put down by the Assyrian generals, who captured Suzub and sacked the ancient city of Erech. Meanwhile Sennacherib made an unsuccessful attempt to invade Elam; and Suzub, having escaped from Assyria and been admitted into Babylon, in 692 added his forces to those of Elam, Media, and other eastern allies. But the decisive battle of Khalule shattered the hopes of the confederate princes; Babylon was besieged and captured the following year, and then given to the flames. Its inhabitants were sold into slavery, and the river Arakhtu or Araxes was choked with its ruins. If, however, we may judge from the interregnum which marks the last eight years of Sennacherib's reign in Ptolemy's Canon, Chaldea refused to acknowledge the Assyrian domination up to the day of his death. The barbarous destruction of the venerable city of

Babylon must have aroused against him the horror of every inhabitant of the southern kingdom.

It was the last political achievement of Sennacherib of which we know. The latter years of his life seem to have been spent in inactivity, or else in constructing canals and aqueducts in Assyria, in embanking the Tigris, and in building himself a palace at Nineveh on a grander scale than had ever been attempted before. His partiality for his younger son Esar-haddon excited the jealousy of the two elder ones, Adrammelech and Nergal-sharezer, who murdered their father in the month Tebet (December), B.C. 681, while Esar-haddon was conducting a campaign against the Armenians. The forces of Esar-haddon's brothers, however, proved no match for the veterans he commanded, and a battle fought near Malatiyeh in December, B.C. 681, established him on the throne and compelled his brothers to take refuge in Armenia. Esar-haddon entered Nineveh the following month, and immediately afterwards started for Babylonia, where Ur was soon taken, and the surviving son of Merodach-baladan compelled to sue for his life. The conqueror presented him with the government of his ancestral kingdom, and then turned to the restoration of Babylon, rebuilding its walls and temples, and bringing back its captured deities, its plunder, and its people. Henceforward Babylon became the second capital of the empire, the Assyrian court residing alternately there and at Nineveh. The

event quickly showed the wise policy of this measure of conciliation.

Esar-haddon's reign, in fact, is characterised throughout by keen political tact. His political sagacity was equal to the high military talents which enabled him to complete the fabric of the Second Empire by the conquest of Egypt. His disposition, too, was unusually mild and humane for an Assyrian prince, and his powers of conciliation enabled him to consolidate what his military genius had won. One of his most remarkable achievements was his expedition into the heart of Arabia, where he penetrated to the kingdoms of Huz and Buz, 980 miles distant from Nineveh, 280 miles of the march being through arid desert. The feat has never since been excelled, and the terror inspired by it among the desert tribes was such that the country adjoining them was for the first time rendered safe. In the north, too, the Assyrian army penetrated almost equally far. Here Teispes the Kimmerian was defeated between the Zagros and Niphates, and thrown with his hordes westward into Asia Minor, while the copper mines in the eastern frontiers of Media—the very name of which had hitherto been barely known—were occupied and worked. This part of the country was already inhabited by Aryan Medes, and the great Semitic empire accordingly found itself in contact on both east and west with an Aryan population, and with those small independent states which seemed

the natural political organisation of the Aryan race. Among the twenty-two kings who sent materials for the palace of Esar-haddon at Nineveh were some Kyprian ones with Greek names. Greeks and Medes were thus divided only by a single empire. The day was preparing when the barrier should be removed, and the great struggle of Asiatic and European Aryan was to commence.

Early in his reign Esar-haddon had taken good care to pick a quarrel with Sidon. The city was destroyed, and its inhabitants settled elsewhere, Tyre taking the place of Sidon as the chief city of Phœnicia. But the trade of the Phœnicians was half ruined, and Carchemish and Nineveh were enriched at their expense. The conquest of Egypt was alone left to be achieved.

The revolt of Baal of Tyre furnished the opportunity. The Arabian king provided water for the Assyrian army in its march across the desert; Tirhakah was defeated, Memphis entered in triumph, and Thebes compelled to open its gates. Egypt was divided into twenty satrapies, governed partly by Assyrians, partly by native vassal princes, who were, however, watched by a number of Assyrian garrisons. Necho of Sais and Memphis headed the list of governors. On his return from the campaign, Esar-haddon associated Assur-bani-pal, the eldest of his four sons, with himself on the throne (on the 12th of Iyyar or April, B.C. 669), and died two years after-

wards. Assur-bani-pal's first act was to appoint his brother, Saul-sum-yukin or Sammughes, viceroy of Babylon.

Assur-bani-pal, the Sardanapalus of the Greeks, to whom he became known through the medium of Lydia, was the "grand monarque" of Assyria. Ambitious and luxurious, he was a munificent patron of literature and art, and while recognising his own military incapacity, selected able generals, who extended and maintained his empire. After the conquest of Elam, which took place during his reign, the Assyrian empire reached its final limits; but it had within it the elements of decay, and the pride and ambition of the monarch brought about the coalition which robbed him of Egypt, and well-nigh shattered the whole empire. The court set an example of costly magnificence, of cultivated luxury, and of learned antiquarianism, and Assyrian literature entered upon its Alexandrine stage.

Assur-bani-pal found Egypt in a state of revolt. Two campaigns were requisite to quell it, to drive Tirhakah back to the domains of his ancestors, and to destroy Thebes. Meanwhile, the siege of Tyre, begun before Esar-haddon's death, was closely pressed. The Tyrians at last submitted; their king and his brothers had to send their daughters to the harem of the Assyrian monarch, while Tubal and Kilikia also owned the supremacy of Nineveh. The name of the great king spread to the extreme west

of Asia Minor, and Gugu or Gyges of Lydia voluntarily sent him tribute, including two Kimmerian chiefs whom the Lydian prince had captured with his own hand. The submission of Gyges was ascribed to a dream; more probably Gyges trusted to Assyria for defence against the adherents of the dynasty he had displaced, and the Kimmerian hordes that menaced him from without.

But Gyges soon discovered that the friendship of Nineveh was a burden rather than a gain. The Assyrian empire was threatening to swallow up all the East. Elam, the last civilised kingdom of the old world which had held out, had finally fallen after a long struggle before the arms of the Assyrian generals, who had been aided by internal dissensions; and Umman-igas, its titular sovereign, was really little else than an Assyrian viceroy. But in B.C. 652 the blow was struck which eventually led to the overthrow of the whole empire. A general insurrection broke out, headed by Assur-bani-pal's brother, the viceroy of Babylon, in the east, and by Psammetikhos of Sais, the son of Necho, in the west. Elam, Babylonia, Arabia, Palestine, Egypt, and Lydia, made common cause against the oppressor. Aided by the Ionian and Karian mercenaries sent by Gyges, Psammetikhos succeeded in shaking off the Assyrian yoke; Assur-bani-pal, in fact, was too much occupied nearer home to think any longer of so distant a province. His agents in Babylonia had forewarned him

of the threatened insurrection there, but his natural indolence inclined him to disregard them till the event actually took place. With great difficulty the revolt was crushed; Babylon and Cuthah were reduced by famine in 649, and Sammughes burnt himself to death in his palace. The wandering tribes of Northern Arabia, Kedar, Zobah, Nabathæa, etc., were chastised, and fire and sword were carried through Elam. Umman-aldas, the last king of Elam, fled to the mountains, the ancient capital of Shushan was plundered and razed, and the whole of Susiana was reduced to a wilderness. Babylonia was thus avenged for its many invasions upon the country whence its civilisation had originally come.

Its union with Assyria now became closer than before. Assur-bani-pal would trust no more viceroys. Kandalanu, who appears as king of Babylon in Ptolemy's list, was a mere subordinate officer, and a prefect of Babylon is one of the Assyrian eponyms in the later years of Assur-bani-pal's reign. The date of the Assyrian king's death is uncertain, as well as the number of kings who intervened between him and the last, Esar-haddon II., the Sarakos of Bêrôsos. After his death, however, the viceroys of Babylonia again began to extend their power; and one of them, Nabopolassar, made himself independent in B.C. 625. Shorn of its empire, Assyria lasted for a few years longer, but its end was near. The storm at last fell upon it from the north. Kaztarit, king of Media

and Caru-cassi; Mamit-arsu, "lord of the city of the Medes;" the Kimmerians, the Minni, and the people of 'Saparda,[1] united their forces against it; the frontier cities fell first; and though Esar-haddon proclaimed public fasts and prayers to the gods, Nineveh itself was besieged, captured, and utterly destroyed. The Assyrian empire was now shared between Media and Babylon.

Nabu-cudur-utsur or Nebuchadrezzar, Nabopolassar's eldest son, was the real founder of the Babylonian empire. The attempt of Pharaoh Necho to win for Egypt the inheritance of Assyria was overthrown at the battle of Carchemish, and when Nebuchadrezzar succeeded his father in B.C. 604, he found himself the undisputed lord of Western Asia. Palestine was coerced in 602, and the destruction of Jerusalem in 587 laid a way open for the invasion of Egypt, which took place twenty years later. Tyre also underwent a long siege of thirteen years, but it is doubtful whether it was taken after all.

Babylon was now enriched with the spoils of foreign conquest. It owed as much to Nebuchadrezzar as Rome owed to Augustus. The buildings and walls with which it was adorned were worthy of the metropolis of the world. The palace, now represented by the Kasr mound, was built in fifteen days, and the outermost of its three walls was seven

[1] Or Sepharad (Obadiah 20).

miles in circuit. Hanging gardens were constructed for Queen Amytis, the daughter of the Median prince, and the great temple of Bel was roofed with cedar and overlaid with gold. The temple of the Seven Lights, dedicated to Nebo at Borsippa by an early king, who had raised it to a height of forty-two cubits, was completed, and various other temples were erected on a sumptuous scale both in Babylon and in the neighbouring cities, while new libraries were established there. After a reign of forty-two years six months and twenty-one days, Nebuchadrezzar died (B.C. 562), and left the crown to his son Evil-Merodach, who had a short and inactive reign of three years and thirty-four days, when he was murdered by his brother-in-law Nergal-sharezer, the Neriglissar of the Greeks. Nergal-sharezer calls himself the son of Bel-suma-iskun, "king of Babylon;" he seems to have been Rab-mag at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem (Jer. xxxix. 3). The chief event of his reign of four years and four months was the construction of a new palace. His son, who succeeded him, was a mere boy, and was murdered after a brief reign of four months. The power now passed from the house of Nabopolassar,—Nabu-nahid or Nabonidos, who was raised to the throne, being of another family. His reign lasted seventeen years and five months, and witnessed the end of the Babylonian empire.

Recent discoveries have made us acquainted with

the history of this event. Nabonidos found a new power rising among the mountains of Elam. Aryan settlers had made their way across the deserts of Sagartia, and penetrated as far as the rear of the Turanian population in Media and Susiana. Before the death of Nebuchadrezzar half Media was Aryanised, and an Aryan tribe had established itself almost within sight of the Persian Gulf. This tribe subsequently became known under the name of Persian. After the overthrow of Elam by Assyria, and then of Assyria itself, there was nothing to bar its way to the occupation of the waste lands of the old empire of Anzan, and a portion of it accordingly occupied Susa. Early in the reign of Nabonidos the recognised chief of the Susians was Kyros, who claimed descent from the Aryan clan of the Akhæmenids, but whose non-Aryan name may indicate that he was really of Elamite origin.

Kyros had the abilities and the will to found an empire. Media was the first point of attack, then Babylonia. The newly-built city of Ekbatana, constructed in imitation of Nebuchadrezzar's buildings at Babylon, was the centre of a loosely-organised empire. Here a prince of the old race ruled over Protomedes and Aryan Medes alike, though it is probable that the allegiance of the latter was doubtful and scant.

But the elements of weakness in Babylonia were almost as great as those in Media. Nabonidos was

regarded as a usurper by a considerable party, which included the priests and aristocracy. A hostile people, the Jews, were planted in the very heart of the country, where, contrary to the experience and expectation of their conquerors, they had refused to amalgamate with the native population. That native population itself consisted of ill-assorted elements—Semites, Chaldeans, and nomad tribes. The distant provinces of the empire could not be depended on; that they were quiet was due rather to exhaustion than to fear or loyalty. In fact, before the first year of Nabu-nahid's reign was over, he had to face two campaigns, the second against an insurgent named Khume. Hamath rose in rebellion the very next year, and the whole of B.C. 552 was spent by the Babylonian king in putting it down. In the sixth year of Nabonidos, B.C. 549, the Median monarchy fell. The army of Istuvegu or Astyages revolted against him while on the march against Kyros, and gave him into the hands of his enemy. Perhaps it was a revolt of the Aryan against the Protomede. Ekbatana was captured and plundered by Kyros, who spent the next few years in subduing the remains of the Median empire. After the capture of Arbela in B.C. 546, he overran what had once been the kingdom of Assyria, taking among other places Mespila (Muspilu) and Larissa or Resen (Xenophon, *Anab.* iii. 4, 7–12), and then marched into Mesopotamia. Meanwhile Nabonidos had been taking

measures to avert the coming attack. Babylon was made impregnable; the river was paved with brick, and lined with huge walls; and those wonderful works of defence were constructed which Hêrodotos ascribes to Queen Nitôkris. This queen may have been the mother of Nabonidos, who died on the 5th of Nisan or March, B.C. 546, in the camp near Sippara, where the king had stationed an army under the command of his eldest son, Belshazzar, to prevent the attack of Kyros from the north.

The army successfully fulfilled its purpose. Foiled of his intention to force an entrance from the north, Kyros began to tamper with the disaffected elements in the Babylonian population; and in B. C. 539, when all was ready, he marched against Nabonidos from the south-east. The Chaldeans on the coast revolted and in the month Tammuz, or June, Kyros defeated the army of Nabonidos at Rutum. Immediately afterwards the people of Accad, or possibly the Jews settled there, revolted; the Persians entered Sippara on the 14th of the month without fighting, and Nabonidos fled. Babylon opened its gates to the Persian general Gobryas, and Nabonidos was captured and put in chains. The only resistance made was by the Kurdish bodyguard, who barricaded themselves in the temple of Saggil at the end of the month, but they had no weapons. On the 3d of Marchesvan (October) Kyros entered Babylon in triumph, and the Babylonian empire was at an end.

Eight days later Nabonidos died, and Kyros, whose political wisdom was equal to his military abilities, allowed him to be buried sumptuously. The Persian prince, however, adopted other means also for winning the favour of his new subjects. The temples were restored, the gods and their priests received large offerings, and Kyros and his son Kambyses took part in the religious processions, and styled themselves the servants of the gods Merodach and Nebo.

The death of Kambyses inspired the Babylonians with the hope of recovering their independence. In B. C. 521 they revolted under Nadintu-Bel, the son of Aniru, who called himself Nebuchadrezzar, the son of Nabonidos. A portrait of him in the Greek style, and with a Greek helmet, is carved on a cameo in the Berlin Museum. But Darius overthrew the pretender in two battles at Zazan, and pursued him into Babylon, which he closely besieged (November B. C. 521). The siege lasted nearly two years, but the Persians finally captured the city by diverting the Euphrates from its channel, and, after passing by night along the river-bed, entering it through an unguarded gate. It is this siege and capture which Hêrodotos transfers to the age of Kyros. Once more, in B. C. 515, a new impostor arose, Arakhu, the son of the Armenian Khaldita. He too claimed to be Nebuchadrezzar II., and he too was taken and executed in Babylon after a short siege.

Religion and Mythology.—The religion of Accad

was originally Shamanistic, like the religion of the Siberians or Samoyeds at the present day. Every object and force of nature was supposed to have its *zi* or spirit, who could be controlled by the magical exorcisms of the Shaman or sorcerer-priest. These spirits were good or bad, like the objects and forces they represented, and like the latter, too, they were innumerable. Naturally the demons were supposed to outnumber the powers, of good, and there was scarcely an action which did not risk demoniac possession. Diseases were all produced by their malevolence, and it was necessary to guard the house from them by placing at its entrance the figure of a cherub or some similar composite creature, which was regarded as a good genius. Even the dead were believed sometimes to revisit the earth and devour the living under the forms of vampires. Gradually, certain of these spirits, or rather deified forces of nature, were elevated above the rest into the position of gods, more especially Anu "the sky," Mul-ge or Enum "the earth" and "underworld," and Hea "the deep." But old habits of thought were too strong to be resisted, and even these deities had each their *zi* attached to them.

Before the arrival of the Semites a liturgy was already in the hands of the Accadians. This old prayer-book consisted of exorcisms and magical formulæ, interspersed with occasional hymns about the spirits or legends of their achievements, and

ending with the words, "Take oath, O spirit of heaven; take oath, O spirit of earth." With the rise of a united monarchy, however, the gods began to assume importance and form themselves into a hierarchy. The worship of special deities had become associated with special cities; Ur was the city of the Moon-god, Lar'sa of the Sun-god, Babylon of Merodach; and the supremacy of a city implied the supremacy of the deity it worshipped. The kings vied with each other in erecting temples to these great divinities, whose vicegerents on earth they were, and those who were engaged in organising men below at the same time organised the gods above. The first monarch of all Chaldea of whom we know is also the first great temple-builder.

It was when Accadian religion had reached this stage that the Semite entered the land. Shamanism had developed into polytheism; the sorcerer had become the priest. Along with the change had gone an ever-increasing tendency to solar worship. The sun and the daylight were the most potent powers of good that affected the early Chaldean, and when the spirits that were in Nature became the gods of Nature, the sun and the daylight were accordingly marked out for special adoration. The supreme deity of several of the great cities was the Sun-god under varying forms; Merodach of Babylon, for instance, was but "the solar brilliance," who, with the rise of Babylon, was elevated to a chief place in

the Accadian pantheon. But there was another cause which aided the growth of sun-worship. The age of political unification was also the age of the great outburst of Accadian literature. Poets started up on all sides, and hymns innumerable were composed in honour of the new gods. In course of time these hymns were invested with a sacred character, and, like the Rig-Veda in India, were arranged in a collection which superseded the old collection of magical exorcisms as the inspired liturgy of Chaldea. It was to the Sun, the great benefactor of mankind, that the majority of the hymns were addressed, and the attributes ascribed to the Sun-god, and the manifold names whereby he was invoked, became so many new solar divinities. These in turn passed into solar heroes, as the names given to them and the human actions recounted of them gave rise to legends and myths.

As long, however, as the Accadian domination lasted, the Sun-god had a formidable rival in the Moon-god. The Chaldeans were emphatically a people of astronomers and astrologers, the result of their early pastoral life on the mountains of Susiana, and the moon accordingly played the same part in their religion and mythology that the sun has done elsewhere. It was from the Moon-god that the monarchs traced their descent; it was to him that the imperial city of Ur was dedicated; and in the hierarchical system of the priesthood the Moon-god

was the father of the Sun-god. But the Semitic occupation of Babylonia turned the scale in favour of the latter. The Semites, the children of the desert, made the sun the centre of their faith and worship; as Baal he was the Supreme Being, now giving life and light to his adorers, now scorching them with his fiery rays and demanding the sacrifice of their nearest and dearest. As soon as the Semitic element in the population of Chaldea became strong, sun-worship began to absorb everything else. At the same time a new conception was introduced into the religion of the country. The Semites brought with them the idea of gender; each one of their male deities consequently had a female consort and reflection at his side. Baal or Bel presupposed Baaltis or Bilat, Anu presupposed Anat. Hitherto Accadian belief knew only of one female divinity, Istar, the goddess of war and love, the patroness of the moon and the planet Venus, and there were as many Istars as there were centres of worship in the land. But Istar now became the feminine Astoreth; her attributes were divided among the goddesses of Sippara, of Agadé, of Arbela, and other places; and though she continued to the last to retain an independent place by the side of the great male divinities, there was a growing tendency to dissolve her into Beltis, the shadowy female double of Baal.

Long before the second millennium B.C. the work of fusing the religious ideas of the Accadian and the

Semite together was completed. The Semite borrowed the old Accadian pantheon *en bloc*, classing the inferior gods among the 300 spirits of heaven and the 600 spirits of earth, and superadding his own religious conceptions and his own divinities. These were identified with the leading deities of the Chaldean Creed; Mul-ge, for example, becoming Bel, Tin-sar Nebo, and Utuki Samas. But the great majority of deities were adopted without change of either name or attributes, though the names were in some cases slightly Semitised.

This process of syncretism went along with a curious development of astro-theology. The heavenly bodies, like all other objects in Nature, had once had their special spirits; when this old phase of religion passed away, the spirits were replaced by the gods of the new pantheon. The chief divinities were identified with the planets and other leading stars; the sun and moon were already provided for. The state religion of Babylonia thus became a strange mixture of worn-out Accadian spirit-worship, of the Semitised later Accadian hierarchy of gods, of Semitic religious conceptions, and of astro-theology.

To this mixture must be added the early ancestor-worship, which still survived under various forms, and the cult paid to certain kings. This, however, was but a form of ancestor-worship, and may have been due to Egyptian influence.

In the higher and more gifted minds the mixture led to monotheism. From resolving the gods of the

Semitic nomad into the gods of civilised Chaldea it needed but a step to resolve the gods of Chaldea themselves into varying aspects of one supreme deity. Sir H. Rawlinson believes that Eridu, the Paradisiacal city, was the chief seat of the monotheistic "sect"; however that may be, we find hymns in the sacred collection addressed to "the one god," and other tablets in which the manifold deities of the popular faith are made but the different names and titles of Anu. This monotheism must be carefully distinguished from the henotheism of some of the hymns in which the author seems to ascribe to the deity he is addressing attributes which, according to our ideas, would exclude the existence of any other god, but which he ascribes the next moment, in the same uncompromising way, to a wholly different divinity. The monotheistic school appears to have died out during the epoch of the Cassite dynasty.

The state religion, once elaborated, underwent no material change. The places of the gods, indeed, were moved from time to time, as one city or another rose to pre-eminence; Assur, the local deity of the old capital Assur, being set at the head of the divine hierarchy in Assyria, and Merodach usurping the place of the older Bel or Mul-ge in the Babylon of Nebuchadrezzar. But the main outlines of the system remained unaltered. While the Accadian substructure, with its spirits and its exorcisms, faded more and more out of view, especially in Assyria,—while the religion of the

Assyrian monarchs can be with difficulty distinguished from that of their Phœnician kindred,—the creed that was based upon it lasted to the end.

A time came, however, when the popular theology entered into the schools of philosophy. The gods were resolved into elements and abstractions, and it was taught that they and the universe alike had originated out of a chaos of waters. This system of cosmogony has been embodied in the poem of the Creation in seven days, which bears such a remarkable likeness to the first chapter of Genesis, but does not seem to be older than the age of Assur-bani-pal. The system of the poem agrees with the statements of Damascius (*De Prim. Princip.* 125, p. 384, ed. Kopp), who tells us that Apasôn or Ap'su, "the deep," and Mummu Tiamtu (Moymis[1] Tavthê), "the chaos of the sea," were the original principles out of which all things have been begotten. Of them were born Lakhvu and Lakhva (Dakhos and Dakhê); of them again Kisar and Sar (Kissarê and Assôros), the lower and upper firmaments, who originated the three supreme gods, Anu, Elum or Bel, and Hea, the latter being the father of Bel-Merodach, the Demiurge. This theory of emanations was the source of later Gnostic speculation, while the philosophic explanation of the universe it embodied made its way into Ionia, and there started Greek speculative philosophy. Thales and his doc-

[1] Moymis is made the "only-begotten" son of Apason and Tavthê by Damascius, contrary to the evidence of the cuneiform text.

trines drew their ultimate inspiration from Babylonia.

An earlier cosmogonic system is found in an Accadian legend of the Creation preserved in the library of Cuthah. According to this the present κόσμος or regulated universe was preceded by an anarchical chaos, in which Nature had made its first essays in creating. Composite creatures had been formed out of the earth and the deep, like those engraved on the gems and cylinders, or painted, according to Bêrôsos, on the walls of the temple of Bel. There were men with the bodies of birds or the tails of fish, and human beings with birds' faces. The philosophy of Anaximander, which has been termed an anticipation of Darwinism, may be traced to this cosmological theory.

The after-life expected by the Babylonian was as dreary as that expected by the Greek. Hades was beneath the earth, a place of darkness and gloom, from which none might return, where the spirits of the dead flitted like bats, with dust alone for their food. Here the shadowy phantoms of the heroes of old time sate crowned, each on his throne (comp. Is. xiv. 9), and in the midst rose the fortress-palace of Nin'sun or Allat, the goddess of death. Hades was guarded by seven gates and seven warders, who stripped the spirit that entered of all he possessed; and in early days, when the geographical knowledge of the Accadians was limited, its entrance was believed to be in the marshes beyond the mouth of the Euphrates. But even within

the abode of Nin'sun the waters of life bubbled up at the foot of the golden throne of the spirits of earth, and whosoever could drink of them might return to the upper world. A happier lot was reserved for a few. Xisuthros and his wife were translated for their piety to the blissful fields beyond Datilla, the river of death; the spirit of Hea-bani, the friend of Gisdhubar, summoned by the prayers of his friends, rose like a cloud of dust out of the ground and ascended to heaven, where gods and heroes lie on couches feasting and drinking limpid water; while an Assyrian court-poet prays that his lord may hereafter have "everlasting" life in the land of the silver sky, where the gods revel and know no ill.

But the fear of the evils that the demons were perpetually devising against him while alive must have made the life of the Babylonian almost intolerable. Every day and almost every hour had its religious ceremony, the neglect or malperformance of which brought down upon him some misfortune. Banished from the state religion, magic became a science. An elaborate system of augury was gradually formed, and omens were drawn from every event that could possibly happen. The power once exercised by the sorcerer-priest was now transferred to the necromancer and witch,—who, by the way, was supposed to fly through the air on a wooden stick,—with the difference that the power of the latter was believed to be exercised only for evil. The exorcisms which had in early days

formed a prayer-book now formed a distinct branch of literature, and survived long after the fall of the Babylonian monarchy. The bronze bowls found by Sir A. H. Layard, as well as the part played by charms and demons in the Talmud, show how strongly the belief in magic had seized not only upon the native mind, but on that of the Jews also who had settled in the country. Through the Jews and various Gnostic systems of early Christianity, aided in part by the superstitions of imperial Rome, the belief found its way into the mediæval Church, and the features of the mediæval devil may be traced in an Assyrian bas-relief, which represents the dragon of Chaos, with claws, tail, horns, and wings, pursued by the Sun-god Merodach. Even the phylacteries of the Jews go back to the same origin. Accadian magic ordered the sorcerer to bind the charm, twice knotted with seven knots, round the limbs of the sick man; and this, with the further application of holy water, or the binding of a sentence from "a good book" about the sufferer's head, would infallibly produce a cure.

Babylonian mythology is a more pleasing subject than the magic which made the "Chaldeans" famous in later days. The myths of Accad were rich and manifold, and necessarily gained much by the Semitic conquest. Reference has already been made to some of them, and there are many that reappear under more or less changed forms in Jewish and Greek literature. We have learned at last how great was the

debt owed by Greek mythology to the poets of ancient Babylonia, whose legends found their way to the west through the mouths of Phœnicians and Hittites. Adônis and Aphroditê are the Tammuz and Istar of Accadian story; and the death of Adônis, and the descent of the goddess into Hades to search for him, formed the subject of Accadian poems before the Greek perhaps had yet reached his future home. The theft of Promêtheus has its analogue in the story of the god Zu, "the divine storm-bird," who stole the lightning of Bel, the tablet wherein destiny is written, and was punished for his crime by the father of the gods. Gisdhubar, originally the old Accadian Fire-god, and then a solar hero, is the prototype of Hêraklês. Hea-bani, the confidant and adviser of Gisdhubar, is the Kentaur Kheiron, for Kheiron was the son of Kronos, and Kronos is identified by Bêrôsos with Hea, the "creator" of Hea-bani. The lion slain by the Chaldean hero is the lion of Nemea; the winged bull made by Anu to revenge the slight suffered by Istar is the bull of Krete; the tyrant Khumbaba, slain by Gisdhubar in "the land of the pine-trees, the seat of the gods, the sanctuary of the spirits," is the tyrant Geryon;[1] the gems borne by the trees of the forest beyond "the gateway of the sun" are the apples of the Hesperides; and the deadly sickness of Gisdhubar himself is but the fever caused by the poisoned tunic of Nessos. Even the encircling ocean, with its gates,

[1] Khumbaba appears as Kombabos in Lucian, *De Dea Syria*, 19-26.

where the women Sabitu and Siduri keep eternal watch, is the Okeanos of Homeric legend. Naturally the impress made by Babylonian mythology upon the western Semites was deeper than that which it made upon the Greeks. An echo of the war waged between Merodach and the powers of chaos and darkness, headed by the dragon of the sea, the seven-headed "serpent of night," still survives in the Apocalypse. The sacred tree, with its guardian cherubs, as well as the flaming sword of the lightning, with its fifty points and seven heads, recall biblical analogies; and the legend of the plague-demon Lubara brings to our remembrance the vision of David when the angel of pestilence hovered over Jerusalem.

Art, Literature, and Science.—The art of Assyria was the copy and offspring of that of Babylonia. At the same time the copy was a free one, and in many points differed very materially from its model. The difference was caused in part by the want of stone in Babylonia and its abundance in Assyria. In Babylonia brick had to take the place of stone; stone, in fact, was costly, and used only for such objects as seals and signets, for boundary-marks and royal statues. It is a curious illustration of the servile dependence of Assyria upon Babylonia in artistic matters, that up to the last brick was largely used there in the construction of the royal palaces, in spite of its rapid decay and the ease with which stone might have been procured. Slabs of alabaster were nevertheless employed

to line the walls, and where, therefore, the Babylonians were forced to have recourse to painting, the Assyrians made a liberal use of sculpture in relief.

The existing remains of Babylonian and Assyrian architecture are further distinguished by the religious character of the one and the secular character of the other. The attention which was primarily devoted to the construction of temples in Babylonia was devoted to the construction of palaces in Assyria. The temple in Assyria was a mere appendage of the palace, whereas in the sister kingdom, while the only palaces of which we know are those of the dynasty of Nebuchadrezzar, the site of every great city is marked by the ruins of its temples. Hence the general style of architecture was different, the temple, with its huge masses of brickwork, rising stage upon stage, each brilliantly painted and surmounted by a chamber which was at once a shrine and an observatory, while the palace was built upon a heap of rubble, with open courts and imposing entrances, but never more than two or three stories high.

Columnar architecture had its natural home upon the banks of the Euphrates. Wood and brick had to take the place of stone, and naturally suggested the employment of the column, which soon became a mere ornament and developed into a great variety of forms. Coloured half-columns were used in the temple of Lig-Bagas at Erech for decorative purposes long ages before they were employed in the same way

by Sargon at Khorsabad, and it is to Babylonia and Assyria rather than to Egypt that we must trace the Doric and Ionic pillars of Greece. But the chasteness of Greek taste preserved it from the many fantastic forms into which the column branched out in Babylonia and Assyria, where we find it resting with a circular base on the backs of lions, dogs, and winged bulls.

While the column thus became an ornament rather than a support, the buttresses against which the early Chaldean temples rested never lost their original character. Like the walls, they were covered with plaster and painted with bright colours or overlaid with plates of shining metal. Enamelled bricks, which were first painted, then glazed, and finally baked in the fire, were often used for the purpose; sometimes, as at Warka, we see cones of various colours and embedded in plaster taking their place. The rain was carried off by elaborately constructed drains, some of which afford us the earliest examples of the arch, and which occasionally consisted of leaden pipes.

In Assyria sculpture was used in the stead of painting, although the bas-reliefs were judiciously picked out with red, blue, black, and white colours, none of which, however, were of the same brilliancy as the colours used in Babylonia. This use of colour to heighten the effect of sculpture, which we find also in Egypt, was adopted by the Greeks, who probably derived it, with so many other elements of art, from

the cultured populations of the Euphrates valley. Assyrian sculpture in relief may be said to have passed through three phases of development. The first phase, best represented by the reign of Assur-natsir-pal, is characterised by a simplicity and vigour which shows itself especially in the drawing of animal forms. Nothing, for instance, can be bolder and more lifelike than a scene in which the monarch is depicted hunting lions; but the freshness and freedom of the work are marred by an almost total want of perspective, an absence of delicacy in the execution, and a servile minuteness in reproducing the outlines. No attempt is made to fill in the background. The second phase lasts from the beginning of the Second Empire to the reign of Esarhaddon, and was doubtless influenced by the delicate work in bronze and ivory executed by the Phœnician settlers in Nineveh. The care formerly expended on the chief figures is now extended to the background, which is finished with a pre-Raffaelite minuteness that reminds us of elaborate embroidery. What has been lost in vigour is gained in richness, though the realism of the work is too obtrusive to allow it to be examined with microscopic eyes. The reign of Assur-bani-pal marks the third and best phase of Assyrian art in relief. Drawing has much improved, and the sculptures furnish several instances of successful foreshortening. The exactitude with which animal and vegetable forms are represented is relieved by a general softness of tone, while the overcrowding of

the previous period is avoided by a recurrence to the earlier mode of leaving the background bare, or else by introducing merely the outlines of a landscape. Nevertheless, the art shows symptoms of the same effeminacy and decay that strike us also in the choice of subjects. Scenes are taken for the first time from the harem; and in contrast with the lion-hunts of a former age in the open field, Assur-bani-pal is made to enjoy the pleasures of a royal *battue*, where tame lions are let out of their cages and whipped into activity.

Admirable as the Assyrian artists were when they sculptured in relief, they failed altogether as soon as they came to the round. Here the artists of Babylonia much surpassed them. In Babylonia stone was too precious to be used for other than decorative or legal purposes, and the largest stones procurable were blocks of black basalt or diorite, which could be carved into statues but not cut up into slabs. Statuary of a certain kind, therefore, flourished there from the earliest epoch. But it was always heavy, the figures being represented in a sitting posture, though much skill was shown in the delineation of the face. On the other hand, the carved gems are often very good, a spirit of humour and light-heartedness appearing in them which we look for in vain in Assyria. Gem-cutting, in fact, originated in Babylonia, and thence spread through the western world. Though frequently rude, the very earliest intaglios are invariably clear and vigorous.

Emery must have been used in their manufacture, and the work is sometimes extremely fine.

The Accadians were also skilled in terra-cotta and bronze work. The terra-cotta and bronze images of King Gudea are quite astonishing when we consider their antiquity. Spirited bas-reliefs in terra-cotta have been found at Senkereh, and many of the vases made by the Accadian potters display great beauty of form, and must plainly have been modelled on the wheel, though the majority are handmade and rude. Assyrian pottery is also very good, but the native work in bronze is poor. The bronze gates of Balawât, for example, where the bas-reliefs have all been hammered out from behind and then chiselled, belong to the infancy of art, though the forms are bold and vigorous. The engraved bronze bowls and similar objects found at Nineveh were the work of Phœnicians.

Babylonia was celebrated from the first for the manufacture of textile fabrics, and the oldest gems furnish us with specimens of richly embroidered dresses. Goldsmiths' work, too, had already attained a high perfection in the Accadian period. At a later epoch the Assyrians equally excelled in metallurgy, and their bronze casts, as distinguished from hammer-work in relief, are of a high order of merit. Their gold earrings and bracelets are admirable both in design and in workmanship, and so well were they acquainted with the art of inlaying one metal with another that our modern artists have been content to

learn from them the method of covering iron with bronze. Their chairs and other articles of household furniture are equally worthy of imitation. Besides porcelain, they were acquainted with glass, though transparent glass does not seem to have come into use before the age of Sargon. Coloured glass was known at a much earlier date.

But the Assyrians had none of that love of brilliant colours which characterised their neighbours in the south. Though the introduction of vegetable forms into their bas-reliefs shows that their art was less intensely human than that of the Greeks, they were never led to cultivate the gardens for which Babylon was renowned. It was Babylonia, again, and not Assyria, that was famous for the manufacture of dyed and variegated stuffs.

Iron was little used in the Accadian period, and we may infer from the ideographs which represent it that the only iron known was meteoric. On the other hand, besides stone implements, bronze and copper weapons and tools were largely in use, and bronze bowls are found in nearly all the early tombs, fashioned sometimes with considerable skill. With the Semitic period the employment of iron becomes more common.

Of Babylonian and Assyrian music little is known beyond the fact that there were different instruments for producing it.

Accad was the China of Western Asia. Almost

everyone could read and write. Clay was plentiful, and the writing-paper of the Accadians was mostly of clay. The characters were impressed with a metal stylus upon clay tablets (the *laterculæ coctiles* of Pliny), which were then baked in the sun, or (in Assyria) in a kiln. Papyrus, however, was also extensively used, though it has all now perished. Indeed papyrus, or some similar vegetable substance, preceded clay as a writing-material, the primitive hieroglyphics out of which the cuneiform characters arose having been painted on it by the Accadians before they left their original home in Elam. The hieroglyphics were arranged in vertical columns like the Chinese. After their settlement in the alluvial plain of Babylonia, and their adoption of clay as a writing-material, the Accadians altered the arrangement of their characters, the vertical lines becoming horizontal ones, and running from left to right. By this process the old hieroglyphics were laid upon their sides. At the same time the forms of the hieroglyphics themselves underwent a change. It was difficult to make curved lines upon the clay, while the impress of the stylus assumed a wedge-like shape. The primitive pictures thus became cuneiform or wedge-shaped characters, which had already come to be employed phonetically as well as ideographically. When the Semites borrowed them, a great extension was given to the phonetic element, the sounds which expressed words in

Accadian becoming mere phonetic values in the Semitic syllabary. Hence the same character can denote more than one syllabic sound, and at the same time can be used ideographically.

Long before the Semitic period, or even before the earliest period of which we have contemporaneous record, the Accadian characters had all been classified and arranged. Compound characters were naturally called by the names of those out of which they were composed, though the proof of this has sometimes been obliterated even in the archaic forms of the characters found on the bricks of Lig-Bagas.

After the Semitic conquest no pains were spared to facilitate a knowledge of the Accadian literature and the characters in which it was written. Like the syllabary, the literature of the Semitic Babylonians and Assyrians was mostly of Accadian origin, and it was consequently necessary for them to be acquainted with the language in which it was embodied. Syllabaries, grammars, vocabularies, and reading-books were accordingly drawn up in Accadian and Semitic, and the old Accadian texts were accompanied by interlinear translations, sometimes arranged in a parallel column. When Accadian became extinct, about the seventeenth century B. C., the translations alone of many of the old texts were preserved; it was only where the original text was important, as in legal documents or in the sacred hymns—the very language of which was held to be

inspired—that it continued to be copied. In the time of Assur-bani-pal an attempt was made by the *litterati* to revive the old language, and it became fashionable to write compositions in Accadian, many of which, however, resembled the "dog-Latin" of our own day. A knowledge of the old mode of writing continued down to the Christian era, the latest document so written being, as has been already mentioned, a contract-tablet, dated in the reign of the Parthian king Pakoros, the contemporary of Domitian.

From the earliest period the literature of Chaldea was stored in public libraries. According to Bêrôsos, Pantibibla, or "book-town," was one of the antediluvian cities of Babylonia, and Xisuthros had buried his books at Sippara—perhaps in reference to the Semitic *sepher*, "book"—before the Flood. Every great city had at least one library, and the office of librarian was considered honourable enough to be held by the brother of the king. The most famous of the Babylonian libraries were those of Erech, Lar'sa, and Ur, and (after the Semitic conquest) of Agadé. The older library of Babylon perished for the most part when the town was destroyed by Sennacherib. Scribes were kept busily employed in copying and re-editing old texts, and more rarely in preparing new ones. The copies were made with scrupulous care, and an illegible character or word was denoted by the statement that there was

a "lacuna," or a "recent lacuna," while attention was drawn to the breakage of a tablet. When an Assyrian scribe was in doubt as to the meaning of a character in his Babylonian copy, he either reproduced it or gave it two or more possible equivalents in the Assyrian syllabary.

The libraries established by the Assyrian kings at Assur, Calah, and Nineveh, were formed in imitation of those of Babylonia. Like the Babylonian libraries, also, they were thrown open to the public, though it is extremely doubtful whether the reading public was so large in Assyria as in the sister kingdom. At any rate, their contents were derived almost entirely from Babylonia. The tablets or books were all numbered and arranged in order, and the table of the chapters in the great astronomical work compiled for Sargon's library at Agadé (B. C. 3800) enjoins the student to hand to the librarian in writing the number of the book or chapter he wishes to procure.

The literature contained in these libraries comprised every branch of learning known at the time. Historical and mythological documents; religious compositions; legal, geographical, astronomical, and astrological treatises; magical formulæ and omen tablets; poems, fables, and proverbs; grammatical and lexical disquisitions; lists of stones and trees, of birds and beasts, of tribute and eponyms; copies of treaties, of commercial transactions, of correspondence, of petitions to the king, of royal proclamations, and of des-

patches from generals in the field,—all were represented. The mythological and religious literature was particularly extensive and interesting. Along with the latter must be classed certain penitential hymns, which may favourably compare with the Hebrew psalms. Thus in one of them we read: "O my God, my transgression is great, my sins are many . . . I lay on the ground, and none seized me by the hand; I wept, and my palms none took. I cried aloud; there was none that would hear me. I am in darkness and trouble; I lifted not myself up. To my God my distress I referred, my prayer I addressed." The omen-tablets chiefly belong to a work in 137 books, compiled for Sargon of Agadé. Among the fables may be mentioned a dialogue between the ox and the horse, and another between the eagle and the sun; while we may reckon with the proverbs not only the riddle which the wise man propounded to the gods, and to which the answer is plainly the air, but also the songs with which the Accadian ox-drivers beguiled their labours in the field. Two of these are worth quoting: "An heifer am I; to the cow thou art yoked; the plough's handle is strong; lift it up, lift it up!" "The knees are marching, the feet are not resting; with no wealth of thine own, grain thou begettest for me." Folklore was more poorly represented than mythology, though some specimens of it have been preserved. It was the great epics and mythological poems, however, which naturally occupied the chief place in each library. A

fragmentary catalogue of them has come down to us along with the reputed authors of these standard works. Thus the Epic of Gisdhubar was ascribed to a certain Sin-liki-unnini; the legend of Etana to Nis-Sin; the story of the fox to Kak-Merodach, the son of Eri-Turnunna. Some of their titles are quoted in Accadian, and their composition referred to Accadian poets; others belong to the Semitic period. Among the latter is the Epic of Gisdhubar in its present form, which is based upon an astronomical principle, the subject-matter of each of its twelve books corresponding with the name of a Zodiacal sign. The lion is slain, for instance, under the Zodiacal Leo, the sign of Virgo answers to the wooing of the hero by Istar, and the sign of Aquarius to the episode of the Deluge. This is rather violently introduced into the eleventh book, and, like the rest of the epic, is pieced together out of older poems, fragments of some of which we possess in the original Accadian text. Perhaps the most beautiful of these early legends is that which describes the descent of Istar into Hades in search of her husband, the Sun-god Tammuz, slain by the boar's tusk of winter. The legend curiously survives in a moral form in the Talmud, where Istar has been changed into the demon of lust.

Science was chiefly represented by astronomy, which had its first home among the Accadians. But it soon connected itself with the pseudo-science of astrology, the false assumption having been made that

whatever event had been observed to follow a particular celestial phenomenon would recur if the phenomenon happened again. Observatories were established in all the chief towns, and astronomers-royal were appointed, who had to send fortnightly reports to the king. At an early date the stars were numbered and named; the Zodiacal signs had been mapped out while the vernal equinox still fell in Taurus; and eclipses of the sun and moon had been found to recur after a certain fixed time, and were consequently calculated and looked for. The equator was divided into degrees, sixty being the unit, as in other departments of mathematics. A table of lunar longitudes belongs to the Accadian period, and fragments of a planisphere, which marks the appearance of the sky at the vernal equinox, are now in the British Museum. The year was reckoned to consist of twelve lunar months of thirty days each, intercalary months being counted in by the priests when necessary. In Accadian times the commencement of the year was determined by the position of the star Capella (*a* Aurigæ), called Dilgan, "the messenger of light," in relation to the new moon at the vernal equinox. The night was originally divided into three watches, but this was afterwards superseded by the more accurate division of the day into twelve *casbu*, or "double hours," corresponding to the divisions of the equator, each *casbu* of two hours being further subdivided into sixty minutes, and these again into sixty seconds. Time was measured, at all events

at a later epoch, by means of the clepsydra, and the gnomon or dial was a Babylonian invention. So also was the week of seven days, which was closely connected with the early astronomical studies of the Accadians, the days of the week being dedicated to the moon, sun, and five planets. The 7th, 14th, 19th, 21st, and 28th days of the lunar month were kept like the Jewish Sabbath, and were actually so named in Assyrian. They were termed *dies nefasti* in Accadian, rendered "days of completion (of labour)" in Assyrian; the Assyrian *Sabattu* or "Sabbath" itself being further defined as meaning "completion of work" and "a day of rest for the soul." On these days it was forbidden, at all events in the Accadian period, to cook food, to change one's dress or wear white robes, to offer sacrifice, to ride in a chariot, to legislate, to practise augury, or even to use medicine. The month was further divided into two halves of fifteen days each, these being again subdivided into three periods of five days.

The standard work on astronomy and astrology was that. in seventy-two books, compiled for the library of Sargon at Agadé, and entitled the observations of Bel. It was subsequently translated into Greek by Bêrôsos. The table of contents shows that it treated of various matters,—eclipses, comets, the pole-star, the phases of Venus and Mars, the conjunction of the sun and moon, the changes of the weather, and the like. After each observation comes the event which was believed to have happened in

connection with it, and the number of observations shows for how long a period they must have been accumulating before the second millennium B. C. We can in fact trace the beginnings of Babylonian astronomy back to an age when the Accadians were still shepherds and herdsmen among the mountains of Elam; it was above Elam that the zenith was fixed, and the heaven was regarded as a great pasture land, the ecliptic being "the bull of light" or "the furrow of the sky," and the stars "the heavenly flock," whose shepherd was Arcturus (*a* Bootis). It may be added that Tammuz represented Orion.

The attention given to astronomy presupposes a considerable advance in mathematics. This in fact was the case. The system of cyphers was a comparatively easy one to handle, and was simplified by the habit of understanding the multiple 60 in expressing high numbers,—IV., for instance, denoting $4 \times 60 = 240$. Sixty was also the unexpressed denominator of a fraction, $1\frac{2}{3}$ being represented by I.XL., *i. e.*, $1\frac{40}{60}$. A tablet from the library of Lar'sa gives a table of squares and cubes correctly calculated from 1 to 60, and a series of geometrical figures used for augural purposes implies the existence of a Babylonian Euclid. Even the plan of an estate outside the gate of Zamama at Babylon, in the time of Nebuchadrezzar, has been discovered which shows no mean knowledge of surveying. Some acquaintance with mechanics is evidenced by the use of the lever

and pulley; and the discovery of a crystal lens on the site of Nineveh suggests that some of the microscopic characters on the tablets were inscribed with artificial aid, as well as the possibility of a rude kind of telescope having been employed for astronomical observations. At all events, one astronomical record states that "Venus rises, and in its orbit duly grows in size." Mr. Rassam has discovered on the site of Babylon remains of the hydraulic machinery used for watering the Hanging Gardens of Nebuchadrezzar, and the fragments of a work on medicine, closely resembling the Egyptian Papyrus Ebers, have recently been found.

The ideas of that primitive epoch, when as yet astronomy in its simplest form was unknown, survived in the popular mythology. The "mountain of the world," or Rowandiz, the Accadian Olympos, was believed to be the pivot on which the heaven rested, covering the earth like a huge extinguisher. The world was bound to it by a rope, like that with which the sea was churned in Hindu legend, or the golden cord of Homer, wherewith Zeus proposed to suspend the nether earth after binding the cord about Olympos (*Il.* viii. 19–26). Eclipses were caused by the war of the seven evil spirits or storm-demons against the moon, and a long poem tells how Samas and Istar fled to the upper heaven of Anu when the war began, and how Merodach had finally to come to the rescue of the troubled moon.

Language, Law, Trade, and Agriculture.—As already stated, the original languages of Accad and Sumer were agglutinative, the cases of the noun being indicated by postpositions, and were related to the dialects spoken in Elam (Susian, Cassite, and Amardian). The Semitic language known as Assyrian consisted of the two dialects, Babylonian and Assyrian, the first being distinguished by a preference for softer sounds and a longer retention of the mimmation. It was closely allied to Hebrew and Phœnician, more distantly to Arabic, and more distantly still to Aramaic, while it had many points of resemblance to Ethiopic. The archaic and finished character of its grammar, and the fulness of its vocabulary, make it the Sanskrit of the Semitic tongues. The literary dialect underwent little change during the 1500 years that we can trace its career, the result being that it came to differ very considerably from the language of everyday life spoken at Nineveh or Babylon in later times. Aramaic became the *lingua franca* of trade and diplomacy after the overthrow of Tyre and Sidon under the Second Assyrian Empire, and in course of time gradually superseded the older language of the country. In Babylonia, however, this did not happen until after the Persian conquest.

Law was highly developed in Chaldea from an early period, and a large number of the precedents of an Assyrian judge, like the titles on which he had

to decide, went back to the Accadian epoch. An Accadian code of laws shows us that the mother occupied the same prominent place in the community as among other "Turanian" peoples. A married woman was permitted to hold property; at the same time the husband might repudiate his wife after paying a fine, but the wife who repudiated her husband was punished by drowning. The master who ill-treated or killed his slave was fined, and the slave was allowed to purchase his freedom. Property was carefully protected; the maximum rate of interest was fixed; and houses, land, or slaves could be taken as security for debt. Judges were appointed throughout the kingdom, and forbidden to accept bribes, while prisons were established in every town. The most ancient written code was ascribed to the god Hea or Oannes. As in Attika, the boundaries of property were marked by *stelæ*, one of which informs us that the ground mentioned on it was bestowed by the king on a poet-laureate in return for some complimentary verses; and deeds were drawn up on tablets, often enclosed in an outer coating of clay, and connected by a string with a papyrus docket. These deeds were duly witnessed and sealed. Sennacherib has left behind a sort of will, in which he leaves certain property to his favourite son, Esar-haddon. The taxpayers were divided into burghers and aliens, some of the taxes being paid for the use of the public brickyards and roads. In the time of the Second Assyrian

Empire municipal taxes and the tribute of subject states formed an important part of the imperial revenue. Nineveh, for instance, paid every year 30 talents, 20 of which went to the maintenance of the fleet, Assyria as a whole being assessed at 274 talents; Carchemish paid 100 talents, Arpad 30, and Megiddo 15.

Trade and commerce were the creation of the Semites, and were particularly active in the later days of the Assyrian monarchy. The trade of Assyria was mainly overland—that of Babylonia maritime. The teak found at Mugheir proves that it extended as far as India; on the other side wares came from the coasts and islands of Asia Minor, from Egypt, and from Southern Arabia. Coined money, however, was as yet unknown, and the maneh of Carchemish, after the capture of that city, was made the standard of weight. Interest was usually at four per cent; but sometimes, more especially when objects like iron were borrowed, at three per cent. Houses were let on lease, and the deeds which conveyed them gave a careful inventory of their contents. A house sold at Nineveh on the 16th of Sivan, or May, B.C. 692, fetched one maneh of silver, or £9, the average price of a slave. The records of the Egibi banking firm recently discovered in Babylonia extend from the reign of Nebuchadrezzar to that of Darius Hystaspis; the deeds were kept in large jars, and, like the Rothschilds of modern days, the firm increased its wealth

by lending money to kings. The father generally took his sons into partnership during his lifetime.

While the Semite devoted himself to trade, the Accadian was an agriculturist, and up to the last agriculture occupied a more prominent place in Babylonia than it ever did in Assyria. The canals were a matter of special importance, and their management was superintended by the state. Market-gardeners might lease the ground of richer proprietors, and the tenant had to give one-third of the produce to the owner. The country was covered with gardens; Merodach-baladan has left us a list of no less than seventy-three belonging to himself. At an earlier date, Tiglath-Pileser I., in imitation of the Babylonian princes, tried to acclimatise in royal botanical gardens some of the trees he had met with in his campaigns; but his example does not seem to have been followed, and agriculture of all kinds was never popular in Assyria, where it was relegated to the slaves.

Our knowledge of Assyro-Babylonian administration is too slight to allow us to say more of it than that the government was an absolute monarchy, the court consisting of a large number of officials who owed their rank to the king. After the time of Tiglath-Pileser I., the subject provinces were placed under satraps, the cities of the empire being governed by prefects. Besides the *turtannu* (*tartan*), or commander-in-chief, who stood on the king's right, there were other military officers, such as the "sultan," the

colonel ("man of three troops"), "the captain of fifty," and "the captain of ten," who might assume the command in his absence. Among the chief officials of state may be mentioned the *Rab-saki* (Rab-shakeh), or Vizier, the Rab-saris or Chamberlain, the Music-director, and the Astronomer-Royal.

III.

THE PHŒNICIANS.

WHILE the struggle for supremacy between Accadian and Semite was going on in the east, another branch of the Semitic race was establishing itself on the western coast of Asia. A narrow but fertile strip of land, from 10 to 15 miles in breadth and 150 in length, shut in between the snow-clad peaks of Lebanon and the sea, and stretching from the Bay of Antioch to the promontory of Carmel, was the home of the Phœnicians. They called it Canaan, "the lowlands," a name which was afterwards extended to denote the whole district of Palestine inhabited by kindred tribes. The Egyptians named it the land of Keft, or the "palm," of which the Greek Phœnikê is but a translation. The early date at which it was occupied is shown by the emigrations from it to the Delta in the time of the Middle Egyptian Empire; by the time the Hyksos were ruling at Memphis the mouths of the Nile had become so thickly populated by Phœnicians as to cause the whole coastland to be termed Keft-ur (Caphtor), or "Greater Phœnicia."

According to Genesis, Sidon, "the fishing city," was the firstborn of Canaan. Native legends, however, claimed an older foundation for the sacred city of Gebal or Byblos, northward of Beyrût. Beyrût itself, the Bêrytos of classical writers, was dependent on Gebal, and along with it formed a distinct territory in the midst of the Phœnician states. These consisted of nine chief cities, Akko (now Acre), Achzib or Ekdippa (now Zib), Tyre (now Sûr), Sidon (now Saida), Botrys (now Batrun), Tripolis (now Tarâbolus), Marathus (now Amrit), Arvad or Aradus and Antaradus (now Ruâd and Tartûs), and Ramantha or Laodikeia (now Ladakiyeh). With these may be counted Zemar or Simyra (now Sumra), to the north of Tripolis, inhabited by an independent tribe, like Arka (now Tel 'Arka). The country was watered by rivers, six of which were invested with divine attributes like the mountains from which they flowed. The Eleutheros (Nahr el-Kebîr) in the north is followed by the Adônis (Nahr el-Ibrahim), by whose banks the women of Byblos lamented the dead Sun-god Tammuz; the Lykos (Nahr el-Kelb), where Egyptian, Assyrian, and Babylonian conquerors have erected their memorials; the Tamyras (Nahr Damûr); the Bostrenos (Nahr el-'Awâly); and the Belos (Nahr Na'mân).

With the mountains in their rear the inhabitants of the Phœnician cities were driven to the sea. They became fishermen, traders, and colonists. First Kypros, called Kittim from the town of Kition, was

colonised; then Rhodes, Thêra, Mêlos, and other islands of the Ægean; then came the settlements on the coasts of Greece itself, in Sicily and Sardinia, and on the northern shores of Africa; and finally the colonies of Karteia, near Gibraltar, and Gades or Cadiz, which led the adventurous emigrants into the waters of the unknown Atlantic. Karteia lay in the district of Tarshish or Tartessos, long the extreme western boundary both of Phœnician voyages and of the known world. But before the sixth century B. C., the Phœnicians had not only penetrated to the north-western coast of India, but probably to the island of Britain as well.

Tradition brought them originally from the Persian Gulf, and the similarity of name caused the island of Tylos or Tyros, now Bahrein, to be named as the country from which the forefathers of the Tyrians had come. The tradition pointed to a fact. The close resemblance between the Phœniko-Hebrew and Assyro-Babylonian languages proves that the speakers of them must have lived together for some time after their separation from the rest of their Semitic kindred, as does also the common possession of such deities as Malik or Moloch, Baal or Bel, perhaps also Dakan and Dagon, which were not of Accadian origin. Most of the tribes comprehended under the title of Canaanites in the Old Testament were really Phœnician, though the Egyptian monuments show that the Amorites were of Arab descent, while the Hittites

belonged to a different stock from the Semites. The Hebrews themselves, if we may trust the evidence of language, physiognomy, and character, had the same ancestors as the Phœnicians, and at the time of the conquest of Canaan only differed from the people they expelled in being rude nomads instead of cultivated citizens. It is nevertheless possible that intermarriage with the aborigines of the country—a race of whom we know but little—had produced a modification of type and character among the natives of Phœnicia; but if so, the modification was not great. Towards the north the Phœnicians were affected by contact with their cousins, the Arameans or Syrians, who occupied Damascus and the southern coast of the Orontes, and under the name of the Rutennu appear in the Egyptian inscriptions as extending southward of the Hittites as far as the banks of the Euphrates.

Sidon and Tyre alike consisted of two towns. Those of Sidon were both on the mainland, and were known as the Less and the Greater; those of Tyre were distinguished as insular Tyre and Palætyros. Palætyros stood on the coast, and, if we may trust its name, was older than the city which occupied a double island at a little distance from the shore, and eventually claimed supremacy over it. But insular Tyre was of itself of early foundation, since the great temple of Baal Melkarth, the Phœnician Hêraklês, which rose on the eastern side of the smaller island, was built, as the priests told Hêrodotos, 2300 years before his time,

or about 2750 B.C.; and the name Tyre itself—Tsor in Phœnician—denoted the "rock" on which the insular city stood. When it was visited by the Egyptian Mohar in the time of Ramses II., the water drunk by its inhabitants had all to be conveyed from the mainland in boats. Tsarau or Palætyros, we learn, had been recently burnt. Arvad or Arados was similarly on an island, and held rule over the two cities of the neighbouring coast, Marathos and Karnê. Gebal had originally been built inland, on the northern bank of the Nahr el-Kelb, before its inhabitants migrated to the shore.

Phœnicia was known to the Accadians under the names of Titnum and Martu, the latter of which signified "the path of the setting sun," and was rendered into Semitic by Akharru, "the back" or "western" land. An old geographical tablet makes Khikhi and Lakhi the two divisions of Phœnicia, a word which has been compared with the Fenekh of the Egyptian inscriptions. Cudur-Mabug, the Elamite, was the "father" of the land of Martu, though this may mean the West generally and not Phœnicia in particular; and Chedor-laomer had held Palestine under his sway for thirteen years in the age of Abraham. Sargon of Agadé not only set up his image on the shores of the Mediterranean, but even penetrated as far as Kypros, bringing with him the elements of that Babylonian civilisation which spread from Kypros into Asia Minor. Phœnicia itself was equally affected by Chal-

dean culture, which long dominated over the art of the eastern basin of the Mediterranean.

The Phœnicians, indeed, were an eminently receptive people. Like the rest of their Semitic brethren, they lacked originality, but they were gifted beyond most other races with the power of assimilating and combining, of adapting and improving on their models. Phœnician art derives its origin from Babylonia, from Egypt, and in later times from Assyria; but it knew how to combine together the elements it had received, and to return them, modified and improved, to the countries from which they had been borrowed. The Phœnicians were the most skilful workmen of the ancient world, and the empire of the Euphrates, which had first taught them the art of gem-cutting, of pottery-making, and of dyeing embroidery, was glad to learn in turn from its pupils. Already, in the age of Thothmes III., we see the Phœnicians on the walls of Rekhmara's tomb at Thebes bringing as tribute vases with animals' heads, similar to those found at Rhodes and Hissarlik, and clad in richly-embroidered kilts. But the most precious acquisition of the Phœnicians was the alphabet. This was borrowed by the settlers in Caphtor or the Delta from their Egyptian neighbours in the time of the Middle Empire or the early days of Hyksos dominion,—all the other incumbrances of the Egyptian system of writing being discarded by a people who possessed the practical habits of traders and merchants. It soon found its way to

the mother-country, where the Egyptian names of the letters were replaced by native ones, drawn possibly from an older script now termed Hittite, and from the mother-country it was disseminated through the western world.

The Phœnicians were the intermediaries of ancient civilisation. It was they who inaugurated the trade of the West, and their trading voyages carried the art, the culture, and the knowledge they themselves possessed to the other nations of the Mediterranean. Modern research has abundantly confirmed the tradition embodied in the opening page of the history of Hêrodotos, that the chief elements of early Greek art and civilisation came from Assyria through the hands of the Phœnicians.

But the influence of Phœnicia was exercised differently at different periods in its history. In the early period the influence was indirect. It was brought by solitary traders, who trafficked in slaves, and above all in that purple-fish which formed the staple of Phœnician wealth, and whose voyages were intermittent and private. This was the period of what we may call Babylonian culture. The conquests of the Egyptian monarchs of the eighteenth dynasty forced the trading communities of Phœnicia to pay tribute to the empire of the Nile, or at times to join in the efforts made to resist its further progress in Palestine; and the result was that Egyptian fashions found their way among them, the sphinx became domesticated on the coast of Keft, and Phœnician art passed into its Egyptianising

phase. Meanwhile the population had been increasing along with wealth and prosperity, new regions had been discovered by adventurous voyagers, and experiments in colonisation had been made on the coasts of Kypros and the Delta. The same mountain-chain which had originally forced the inhabitants of Phœnicia to the sea now induced them to relieve the pressure of population by sending out organised colonies to the recently-discovered lands of the West. Commercial marts were accordingly established in favourable positions; Thêra and Mêlos, with their volcanic clay, became centres of Phœnician trade in pottery; the gold mines of Thasos were worked for Phœnician masters by Greek slaves; the temple of Astartê rose on the southern headland of Kythêra; Lesbos was ruled by Makar or Melkarth, the Tyrian god (*Il.* xxiv. 544), and Krêtê by Minos; the three cities of Rhodes were planned by Phœnician architects; Attika received a Phœnician colony; while the Minyans of Orkhomenos found themselves confronted by the Kadmeians or "Easterns" of Thebes; and the isthmus of Korinth itself, the key to the western sea, was held by Phœnician lords. But Greece was not to be the furthest bound of Phœnician colonisation. Settlements were established on the coast of Africa, in Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, and finally the columns of the Phœnician Hêraklês themselves were cleared, and the son of Phœnix led a colony to Gadeira, "the walled town," at the very limit of the setting sun.

The influence exercised by these colonies upon the still barbarous nations of the west was necessarily profound. The Assyrian character of early Greek art is due to its Phœnician inspiration. The pottery with which the sites of ancient cities like Mykênæ and Orkhomenos, or Kameiros in Rhodes, are strewn, was made by the Phœnician potters of Thêra and Mêlos. Megara, Minoa, Cothôn, the "little" island by the side of Kythêra, are all Phœnician words. The Greek alphabet, as the forms and names of its letters declare, was a Phœnician gift. Tradition ascribes it to Kadmos, "the ancient" or "eastern" of Thebes, the son of Khna or Canaan, or, as other legends affirmed, of Agênor, perhaps a form of Kinyras. His wife, Harmonia, is the Semitic Kharmôn, the "holy" mistress of the *harem;* and the serpent into which he was changed is the γέρων ὄφιων, the Serpent-god of Tyre, whose image is carved on one of the rocks of Thêra. Kadmos himself was worshipped not at Thebes only, but at Sparta as well, just as Melikertês, or Melkarth remained the deity of the Korinthian isthmus into the historical age. The sacred emblems of the Greek divinities—the myrtle, the pomegranate, and the olive—are plants that the Phœnicians must have brought with them; the rites with which Dêmêtêr Akhæa was worshipped bear a Semitic stamp; and the attributes of the Hellenic Aphroditê are really those of the Assyrian Istar, the Phœnician Astartê. Astartê, too, is Eurôpa, the daughter of Phœnix, brought to the

continent to which she was to give a name by the bull-formed Phœnician Baal. The Babylonian prototype of the myth of Aphroditê and Adônis, the Phœnician Adonai, "lord," has been discovered; so also have the Babylonian Hêraklês and his twelve labours, as recounted in the great Epic of early Chaldea.

Sidon seems to have taken the initiative in sending out the colonists. But it was quickly supplanted by Tyre, which claimed supremacy over the cities of Kypros. Arvad and Zemar, however, seem to be the first Phœnician states mentioned on the Egyptian monuments, if they can be identified with the Arathutu and Zemar, whose territories were ravaged by Thothmes III. in his sixth campaign. Perhaps the land of Son-Tsar, or "the other Tyre," mentioned in an inscription of the reign of Amenophis II., refers to the double city of Tyre; at any rate, insular Tyre was conquered by Seti I. shortly before his death. His son, Ramses II., at the beginning of his reign, carved his likeness, in imitation of Sargon of Agadé, on the rocks at the mouth of the Nahr el-Kelb, and three years later defeated the king of Arvad, with the other allies of the Hittites, in the battle of Kadesh. In the age of David, Tyre had become the leading city of Phœnicia. Hiram, the son of Abibaal, was the friend of both David and Solomon, who found an alliance with the wealthy trading community of Tyre at once profitable and honourable. Phœnician culture was introduced among the rude tribes of Israel, and the

temple of Jerusalem was built by Phœnician artists, after the model of a Phœnician one. Even the two columns or cones at the entrance, the symbols of the Sun-god, as well as the brazen sea or reservoir, with the twelve solar bulls on which it rested, were reproduced in the Jewish sanctuary. The conquest of Edom had given David the possession of the Gulf of Akaba, and Tyrian commerce was accordingly able to sail down the Red Sea, hitherto the monopoly of the Egyptians, and find its way to Ophir or Abhîra, at the mouths of the Indus. The name given to the peacocks brought from thence shows that the Dravidian race then extended thus far north. Insular Tyre was enlarged and strongly fortified, and the temples of Melkarth and Astartê beautified and restored. After a reign of thirty-four years, Hiram died at the age of fifty-three. His grandson, Abd-Astoreth, was murdered by the sons of his nurse, the eldest of whom usurped the throne for twelve years. For a while the legitimate dynasty returned to power, but Phelês, a brother of Abd-Astoreth, was put to death by Ethbaal, the priest of Astartê, and with him the line of Hiram came to an end. Ethbaal had a long and prosperous reign of thirty-two years. His daughter Jezebel married the king of Israel, and attempted to break down the barrier of religion which separated that country from Phœnicia. Sidon was made subject to the Tyrian sway, and Auza was founded in the interior of Africa, south of the ancient

colony of Itykê. But the first cloud of danger had already appeared on the horizon. Since the time of Assur-bil-kala, the son of Tiglath-Pileser I., the name of Assyria had not been heard in the West; now, however, Assur-natsir-pal marched into the fastnesses of Lebanon, and in B.C. 870, the kings of Tyre, Sidon, Gebal, and Arvad offered tribute. Arvad, indeed, almost more intimately connected with Syria than the other states further south, took part in the battle of Aroer against Shalmaneser in B.C. 854. The great-grandson of Ethbaal was Pygmalion, whose sovereignty in Kypros caused his name to become familiar in Greek story. Seven years after his accession, at the age of sixteen, he murdered the regent, his uncle, Sichar-baal, a name corrupted into Akerbas and Sichæus by classical writers. His sister Elissa, the wife of Sichar-baal, fled with other opponents of the new king, and found a home on the coast of Africa, not far from the old Phœnician settlement of Itykê or Utica. The site they chose was named *Kartha khadasha*, "the new city," a name which has become famous under the form of Carthage. Legends soon gathered round the foundress of the city. She was identified with Dido, the title under which Astartê was worshipped as the consort of the fierce and cruel Moloch; while Anna, "the gracious," the name of Astartê as the giver of life and blessing, was made into her sister. Even the Bosrâh or "citadel" of the new state, where a temple rose to Eshmun, was identified with the

Greek βύρσα, a "hide," and gave birth to the myth which told how Iarbas, the Lybian prince, had been cheated of his land by the ox-hide for which he sold it being cut into strips. Carthage was destined to take the place of Tyre as the mistress of the commerce of the western seas, when the mother city had been ruined by Assyria. Pygmalion's reign lasted for forty-seven years, almost down to the period when Tyre and Sidon paid tribute to Rimmon-nirari III. When next we hear of Tyre it is under Hiram II., who sent tribute to Tiglath-Pileser II. at Arpad in B.C. 743, and is possibly the King Hiram mentioned on an ancient broken bronze vase found in Cyprus, and deciphered by M. Clermont-Ganneau. His successor, Matgenos II. (Metenna), revolted against Assyria, and was punished by a fine of 150 talents in B.C. 731. On his death, the Zidonian prince, Elulæus or Luli, was raised to the Tyrian throne. Hardly was he seated on it when the Assyrian monarch Shalmaneser invaded Phœnicia, and closely besieged Tyre. Sidon, Acre, and Palætyros submitted to the invader, but the Assyrian fleet of sixty vessels was utterly destroyed by the besieged Tyre did not capitulate till after the accession of Sargon, who was obliged to grant it easy terms. Sidon was soon afterwards compelled to return to its former allegiance. In 701 B.C., however, Sennacherib captured both the Greater and Lesser Sidon, as well as Sarepta, Achzib, and Acre; and though he was unable to take Tyre, Elulæus fled to

Kypros, possibly to obtain help. Tubaal or Ethbaal was made king of Sidon, and for a while Sidon became the leading state in Phœnicia. It is to this period of Sidonian supremacy that the early traditions of historical Greece looked back, and in the Homeric poems the Sidonians, and not the Tyrians, are the representatives of Phœnicia. The Greeks of Kypros from this time forward know only of Sidon, not of Tyre. But the supremacy of Sidon was short-lived. Abd-Melkarth, its king, was misguided enough to ally himself with Sandon-arri of Kilikia, and refuse the homage due to Esar-haddon. Sidon was captured and razed, its prince beheaded, and a new Zidon built, and stocked with the inhabitants of the old one. The tide of commerce now flowed again into Tyre, and though under Baal I. it joined the Egyptian revolt against Assyria towards the close of Esar-haddon's reign, it was strong enough to defy all attempts to take it, and Assur-bani-pal was glad to receive its submission on the easy condition of adding the daughters and nieces of its monarch to the harem at Nineveh. When Tyre again saw an enemy before its walls, it was the Chaldean army under Nebuchadrezzar. But the founder of the Babylonian empire was no more successful than Assur-bani-pal had been, though he joined the island to the mainland by a mole. After a siege of thirteen years, he consented to treat with the Tyrian king, Ethbaal (B.C. 674), and was thus left free to turn his arms against Egypt. On the

death of Ethbaal's successor royalty was abolished for a time, and the Tyrians elected Sufetes or Judges; but in 557 B. C. the old line of kings was again established in the person of Baletor. The conquest of Kypros by Amasis seems to have induced the Phœnicians to recognise the hegemony of Egypt, but with the rise of the Persian empire they passed over to the new power. The Persians, however, who depended on Phœnicia for a fleet, allowed the Phœnician states to be still governed by their own kings, one of whom, Eshmunezer II., the son of Tabnith or Tennês, tells us on his sarcophagus that he ruled for fourteen years as "king of the Sidonians," and had built temples to Baal, Astoreth, and Eshmun, and been lord of the rich cornfields of Dor and Jaffa. The maritime experience of the Phœnicians made them indispensable to their Persian masters, and when they refused to attack Carthage, Kambysês was able neither to accomplish his expedition against that city, nor to punish his refractory subjects. Their commercial empire, however, had long since departed. The Dorians had driven them from their possessions in the Greek waters, Ionic sailors and colonists had followed them to the Pillars of Hêraklês, the Etruscans had occupied their ports in the Tyrrhene Sea, and Assyria had ruined them at home. Their power passed to Carthage, which in time avenged them upon the Greeks. Sicily and Sardinia once more became Semitic, the Hellenic states in the former island with difficulty

maintaining their ground against the admirals of Carthage; while the northern coast of Africa was rendered tributary, and a Carthaginian empire erected in Spain. But while the old strength and spirit of Phœnicia thus revived in its African colony, the last stronghold of native independence fell before the Greek conqueror Alexander. Tyre was besieged by the army that had just overthrown the Persians at Issos; the mole made by Nebuchadrezzar—and still to be seen on the sandy flat which marks the ancient sea-bed between Palætyros and insular Tyre—was reconstructed, and in July B.C. 332 the city, which had defied Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian, at last fell. Thirty thousand of its citizens were sold into slavery, thousands of others were massacred or crucified, and the wealth of the richest and most luxurious city of the world became the prey of an exasperated army. Its trade was inherited by its neighbour Sidon.

Religion and Mythology.—Phœnician religion was typically Semitic. It centred in the worship of the Sun-god, adored now as the beneficent giver of light and life, now as the stern god of fire and summer heat, who must be appeased by human sacrifice. Each aspect of the Sun-god had its own name, and became a separate divinity. By the side of each stood its reflection and double, that female power presupposed by all the operations of nature, as well as by the Semitic languages themselves, with their distinction between masculine and feminine. Baal, "the

lord," therefore, must have his consort Baalath, "lady." But just as Baal was the common title given to the masculine deity in all his forms, so it was rather Ashtoreth than Baalath which was the common title given to the female deity—a title originally derived from an Accadian source. Ashtoreth was also identified with the moon, the pale consort of the diurnal sun, and, under the name of Astartê, was known to the Greeks as the goddess "with the crescent horns, to whose bright image nightly by the moon Sidonian maidens paid their vows and songs." Greek mythology, too, knew her as Iô and Eurôpa, and she was fitly symbolised by the cow whose horns resemble the supine lunar crescent as seen in the south. But it was as the female power of generation—as pale reflections of the Sun-god—that the manifold goddesses of the popular cult were included among the Ashtaroth or "Ashtoreths" by the side of the Baalim or "Baals." Ashtoreth must be carefully distinguished from Ashêrah, the goddess of fertility, symbolised by the *ashêrim*, "upright" cones of stone, or bare tree-stems, which stood at the entrance of a Phœnician temple. Ashêrah was more particularly adored among the Canaanites of the south.

Baal Samên, "the lord of heaven," called Agênor by the Greeks, was the supreme Baal of Phœnicia. But it was rather to Baal as the fierce and cruel Moloch or Milcom, the "king," that worship was specially paid. Moloch demanded the best and dear-

est that the worshipper could grant him, and the parent was required to offer his eldest or only son as a sacrifice, while the victim's cries were drowned by the noise of drums and flutes. When Agathoklês defeated the Carthaginians, the noblest of the citizens offered in expiation 300 of their children to Baal-Moloch. In later times a ram (or hart) was substituted for the human offering, as we learn from the Phœnician tariffs of sacrifices found at Marseilles and Carthage. The priests scourged themselves or gashed their arms and breasts to win the favour of the god, and similar horrors were perpetrated in the name of Ashtoreth. To her, too, boys and maidens were burned, and young men made themselves eunuchs in her honour.

The two aspects of the Sun-god, the baneful and the beneficent, were united in Baal Melkarth, "the king of the city," the patron god of Tyre. Melkarth, Græcised into Melikertês and Makar, is a sure sign of Tyrian presence, and his temple at Tyre, where he was invoked as Baal Tsur, was the oldest building of the city. In his passage through the year Melkarth endured all those trials and adventures which Chaldean poets had told of their great solar hero, and which, under Phœnician tuition, the Greeks subsequently ascribed to their own Hêraklês. Hêraklês, in fact, is but the Tyrian Melkarth in a Greek dress, and the two pillars of rocks which guarded the approach to the ocean the Phœnicians had discovered in the

west were rightly termed the columns of Hêraklês. The temples of Melkarth were said to have been without images, and no women, dogs, or swine were allowed within them. The fire that symbolised him burnt perpetually on his altar, and, under the form of Baal-Khammam, the Ammon of the African Oasis, whom the Greeks confounded with the Egyptian Amun, he was worshipped as the great deity of solar heat which at once creates and destroys. At Carthage the goddess Tanith was his "face" or female reflection.

In early times, the Sun-god was invoked as El, "god," or "exalted one,"[1] and El accordingly became a separate divinity. As El Shaddai he was the thunderer, as El Elyon "the most high god," of whom Melchizedek was priest. The rationalising mythology of a later day told how El, the Kronos of Greece, was the founder of Gebal, the first of Phœnician cities; how, armed with iron sickle and lance, he had driven his father Uranos (Baal-samêm) from the throne; how, in the thirty-second year of his reign, he had fertilised the streams by mutilating his sire; how he had thrown his brother Atlas (Atel, "the darkness") into the nether abyss; and how in the time of plague he had burnt his "only" son, Yeud, on the altar of Uranos, and circumcised himself and his companions. Yeud (or 'Ekhad) means "the

[1] As Delitzsch has pointed out, *el* is of Accadian origin, and is not connected with the Semitic root meaning "to be strong."

only one" like the Accadian Dumuzi or Tammuz, whose name and worship had been carried to Gebal by the first Phœnician settlers. Under the title of Adônis (Adonai), "master," he was lamented by the women of Byblos in the month of July, when the Nahr Ibrahim runs red with the earth washed down from the mountains.

The rivers themselves were worshipped, and, addressed as Baal, were merged into the Sun-god. Thus the Tamyras was adored as Baal-Tamar, called by Philo Zeus Dêmarûs, the son of Uranos, who ruled over Phœnicia in the days of El along with Astartê and Adôdos or Hadad, "the king of the gods." The mountains, too, were Baalim, the worship of the Sun-god on a mountain-peak being transferred to the peak itself. On the two mounts Kasios, southward of Antioch, and again to the north of the Sirbonian lake on the African coast, rose the temples of Baal-Zephon, "Baal of the north;" elsewhere we find Baal-Gad, "Baal of good luck," Baal Meon, Baal Hazor, Baal Perazim, Baal-Peor. Peniel, "the face of El," was a mountain deity, and according to Philo, the fourth divine generation consisted of the giants Kasios, Lebanon, and Hermon, after whom the mountains were named. But the titles and forms under which Baal was adored were not yet exhausted. Sometimes he was known as Baal-Shemesh, "the sun," sometimes as Baal-Zebub, the oracle god of "flies," the sun being imaged as a huge

fly; at other times he was invoked by names as manifold as the local cults and individual caprices of the Canaanitish race. But the fact that it was everywhere the same deity, the same force of Nature, that was worshipped, caused the popular polytheism to tend towards monotheism; the Baalim tended to become Baal, symbolised by a gilded bull.

There were, indeed, other deities recognised by the Phœnicians besides the Baalim and Ashtaroth, of whom, however, we know but little. Among these may be mentioned the Kabeiri, the makers of the world, the founders of civilisation, and the inventors of ships and medicine. They were represented as dwarfs, the Greek word for which, πυγμαῖοι, was confounded with the name of the Phœnician god Pugm. The most famous of the Kabeiri was Eshmun, "the eighth," identified by the Greeks with their Asklêpios, who carried snakes in his hands, and was restored to life by Astronoê or Astoreth Na'amah, after he had mutilated himself to escape her love. The Kabeiri were originally the seven planets, and M. J. Darmesteter has tried to show[1] that they are on the one side the "sons of God" of Genesis, and on the other the husbands of the Lemnian women, slain, according to the Greek story, by their wives. It is needless to mention other Phœnician deities, such as Sikkun and Mut, "death," of whom we know hardly more than the names.

[1] *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, IV. 2 (1880).

The character of Phœnician religion and of the people who held it was at once impure and cruel. It reflected the sensualism of nature. Intoxicated with the frenzy of nature-worship under the burning sky of the east, the Canaanite destroyed his children, maimed himself, or became the victim of consecrated lust. Men and women sought to win the favour of heaven by sodomy and prostitution, and every woman had to begin life by public prostitution in the temple of Astartê. This practice, indeed, was brought from Babylonia, along with the sacrifice of the first-born by fire; but though we may ascribe the origin of the latter to the Accadians,—an Accadian text stating expressly that sin may be expiated by the vicarious sacrifice of the eldest son,—the immorality performed in the name of religion was the invention of the Semitic race itself.

Up to the last, customs that had originated in a primitive period of Semitic belief survived in Phœnician religion. Stones, more especially aerolites, as well as trees, were accounted sacred. The stones, after being consecrated by a libation of oil, were called *Βαίτυλοι*, or Beth-els, "habitations of God," and regarded as filled with the indwelling presence of the Deity. The Caaba at Mecca is a curious relic of this old Semitic superstition, which is alluded to in the Gisdhubar Epic of Chaldea, and may have suggested the metaphor of a rock applied to the Deity in Hebrew poetry. Prof. Robertson Smith,

again, has pointed out that numerous traces of an early totemism lasted down into the historical period of the Semitic race, more especially among the ruder nomad tribes of Arabia.

Tribes were named each after its peculiar totem,—an animal, plant, or heavenly body,—which was worshipped by it and regarded as its protecting divinity. The division between clean and unclean animals arose out of this ancient totemism, the totem of a tribe being forbidden to it as food, or eaten only sacramentally. Exogamy and polyandry almost invariably accompany totemism, and it is not surprising, therefore, to find clear traces of both among the Semites. The member of one tribe was required to marry into another. Hence the same family with the same totem might exist in different tribes, and the ties of the totem-relation were stronger than those of blood. David, for instance, belonged to the serpent-family, as is shown by the name of his ancestor Nahshon, and Prof. Smith suggests that the brazen serpent found by Hezekiah in the Solomonic temple was the symbol of it. We find David and the family of Nahash, "or the serpent," the king of Ammon, on friendly terms even after the deadly war between Israel and Ammon that had resulted in the conquest and decimation of the latter.

One result of the absorbing Baal-worship of Phœnicia, and the tendency to monotheism it produced, was the rationalising of the old myths which took

place in the Greek period. Euhêmeros had his predecessors in Phœnicia; in fact, it was from Phœnicia that he probably derived the principles of his system. In the pages of Philo Byblios the gods became men, and the symbolic legends told of them are changed into human actions. At the same time, with the syncretic spirit of Phœnician art, the gods and myths of Syria, of Egypt, and of Greece, are all fused together along with those of Phœnicia itself. Two systems of cosmogony are quoted from him, one of which probably belongs to the school of Byblos, the other that of Tyre. According to one of these, the wind or breath (Kolpia) brooded over the original chaos (Baau, *bohu;* Assyrian, Bahu), and produced first Desire and then Môt, the watery element which underlies all things. Môt, in the form of an egg, generated the universe. Then came the first men, Æôn and Protogenos. Their offspring were Genos (Cain) and Genea, who dwelt in Phœnicia and worshipped Baal-Samêm. Next followed Phôs, Pyr, and Phlox, the discoverers of fire; the giants Kasios, Libanos, Anti-libanos, and Hermon; and finally Samim-rum, "the most high," and Usôos (Esau). Samim-rum lived in Tyre, where he built huts and fought with Usôos, the inventor of ships and clothing made of the skins of wild beasts, who gave his name to the city Hosah. Among their descendants were Khusôr, the first worker in iron, and his brother Meilikhios, the discoverer of fish-hooks, who together

invented the art of brickmaking. Afterwards came the husbandman Agrotês, Sydyk "the righteous," the father of the Kabeiri, and Uranos and Gê, the children of Elyon and Bêrytos. One of the sons of the latter was Dagon, the corn-god, and Astartê was his sister. El, the son of Uranos, gave Byblos to Beltis, Bêrytos to the sea-god, the Kabeiri, and the descendants of Agrotês and Halieus; while Egypt fell to Taautos, the Egyptian Thoth.

Art, Science, and Literature.—Phœnician art, as has been stated, was essentially catholic. It assimilated and combined the art of Babylonia, of Egypt, and of Assyria, superadding, perhaps, something of its own, and improving at the same time upon its models. It borrowed the rosette and palm-leaf from Babylonia, the sphinx from Egypt, the cherub from Assyria, but gave to each a form and spirit of its own. Its gem-cutters came to excel those of Chaldea, its artists in bronze and stone those of Assyria, while the sarcophagus of Eshmunezer aims at rivalling the massive coffins of Egypt. Its decorative art as well as the plan of its temples can best be learned from the construction and ornamentation of Solomon's temple at Jerusalem. The carved gems and ivories and bronze bowls found at Nineveh, or the treasure discovered at Palestrina, the ancient Præneste, are examples of Phœnician workmanship. Everywhere we have the same combination of Assyrian and Egyptian elements, of scenes copied now from

Egyptian paintings, now from Assyrian bas-reliefs, sometimes mingled together, sometimes divided into separate zones. If we may listen to M. Clermont-Ganneau, the central medallion of the sculptured bowls gave the first idea of money; at any rate, we know that the bronze vessels of Phœnicia were frequently broken up for the purposes of exchange.

In the early art of Greece, and above all in the art of Kypros, we may trace the outlines and spirit of the art of Phœnicia. We shall see hereafter, however, that Phœnician art was but one element in the art of primitive Greece, though it was the most important one; the other element being the art long supposed to be peculiar to Asia Minor, but now traceable to the Hittites. But this element was naturally weaker on the Grecian mainland, which owed even its alphabet to the Phœnicians, than in the islands. A bronze plate like that recently found at Olympia, the lowest compartment of which is occupied by a figure of the winged Astartê, or the pottery of Mykenæ and other prehistoric sites, are the products of Phœnician rather than of Hellenic skill. The so-called Korinthian or Phœniko-Greek vases, with their quaint animal forms and Babylonian rosettes, belong to that transition period when Phœnician art was passing into Greek. The patterns upon them owe their inspiration to the embroidered dresses for which Thêra was long famous. The earliest attempts at statuary in Greece are Assyro-

Phœnician, as may be seen from the statues discovered by General di Cesnola at Golgoi in Kypros, or the sitting figures disentombed by Mr. Newton at Brankhidæ; and it seems difficult to believe that the genius of Athens so soon transformed these stiff models of the Orient into the marvellous creations of a Pheidias or a Praxitelês. But the art of Homer is still Phœnician in character; the shield of Akhillês might have been wrought by one of the artists who have left us the bronze bowls of Nineveh.

In science Phœnicia inherited the discoveries and inventions of its neighbours. Glass, according to Pliny, had been an invention of the Phœnicians, but it was known to the Egyptians long before the Phœnicians had emerged from their primitive barbarism.[1] In the art of navigation, however, the Phœnicians no doubt made an independent advance. The *gaulos*, with its high rounded prow and stern, the fifty-oar galley, and "the ship of Tarshish," or merchantman, were the oldest of their vessels, and the Byblians were held to be the best ship-builders, the men of Sidon and Arvad being the best rowers. It was at Carthage that a ship with more than three banks of oars was first built, and its pilots steered by the pole-star, not, like the Greeks, by the Great Bear. The Phœnician galley seems to have been the model of the Greek one. As for medicine, a Phœnician of

[1] The earliest dated specimen of Egyptian glass bears the name of Antef III., of the eleventh dynasty.

Gebal was one of the most famous of oculists in the time of the eighteenth dynasty, and even the Egyptian doctors did not disdain to make use of his receipts. The renown of the Phœnicians as builders and carpenters implies their knowledge of mechanics and the use of the lever and pulley.

But their buildings have mostly perished, and so, too, has their literature. All that we possess are the scanty quotations, chiefly by Jôsêphos, from the history of Tyre by Dios and Mênander of Ephesos, who seem to have derived it from the native annals; references to Mokhos, Moskhos, or Okhos, who wrote on Phœnician history, and is made by Strabo, on the authority of Poseidonios, to have lived before the Trojan War, and started the atomic theory; and, above all, the fragments of Philo Byblius, who flourished in the second century B.C. and professed to have translated into Greek older works by Sanchuniathon and others on Phœnician history and religion. Sanchuniathon (Sikkun-yitten) is said to have been one of a series of hierophants, among whom Thabion and Isiris may be named, and to have lived, like Mokhos, before the war of Troy. His works were based on the archives preserved in the temples, a book composed by Hierombaal or Jerubbaal in the days of Abelbaal, king of Berytos, and the sacred scriptures of Taautos and Eshmun. If, however, Sanchuniathon had any real existence, he must have written but shortly before the time of

Philo himself, since the cosmogony and theology of the latter is wholly the product of a syncretic and rationalising age. The works of Mokhos, as well as two other Phœnician writers, Hyksikratês and Theodotos (? Sanchuniathon), are said to have been translated into Greek by a certain Khaitos. It may be added that the Carthaginian general Mago was the author of twenty-eight books on agriculture, turned into Greek by Dionysios of Utica, and into Latin by Silanus; and Hanno of an account of his voyage along the west coast of Africa, in the course of which he fell in with a "savage people" called gorillas.

Government and Trade.—The government of the several states was a monarchy tempered by an oligarchy of wealth. The king seems to have been but the first among a body of ruling merchant princes and still more powerful and wealthy chiefs. In time the monarchy disappeared altogether, its place being supplied by suffetes or "judges," whose term of office lasted sometimes for a year, sometimes for more, sometimes even for life. At Carthage the suffetes were two in number, who were merely presidents of the senate of thirty. The power of the senate was subsequently checked by the creation of a board of one hundred and four, chosen by self-electing committees of five, to whom the judges, senate and generals were alike accountable. By providing that no member of the board should hold office for two years running, Hannibal changed the

government into a democracy. The colonies of Phœnicia were permitted to manage their own affairs so long as they paid tribute and supplied ships and soldiers to the mother city, though their inhabitants were allowed no rights or privileges in Phœnicia itself. Many of them, however, were wholly independent, governed by their own kings, and benefiting Phœnicia only in the way of trade.

The cities of Phœnicia were, in fact, the first trading communities the world had seen. Their power and wealth, and even their existence, depended on commerce. Their colonies were originally mere marts, and their voyages of discovery were undertaken in the interests of trade. The tin of Britain, the silver of Spain, the birds of the Canaries, the frankincense of Arabia, the pearls and ivories of India, all flowed into their harbours. But the purple trade was the staple of their industry. It was by the help of the murex or purple-fish that they had first become prosperous, and when the coasts of Palestine could no longer supply sufficient purple for the demands of the world, they made their way in search of it to the coasts of Greece, of Sicily, and of Africa. The purple manufactories of Tyre must always have spoilt a traveller's enjoyment of the place. Slaves, too, formed part of Phœnician traffic from the earliest times, as also did pottery. The copper of Kypros was no doubt their attraction to that Island, and, mixed with the tin of Britain and

the Caucasus, it became the bronze for which they were famous. In mining they excelled, and the gold mines of Thasos, where, according to Hêrodotos, they had "overturned a whole mountain," were worked before the thirteenth century B.C. Their woven and embroidered garments, dyed crimson, and violet, were sent all over the civilised world. The weights and measures they used were borrowed from Babylonia, and passed over to Greece along with the ancient Accadian name of the *mina* or maund.[1] At Carthage we hear of loans made from foreign states, and, along with bars of gold and silver, even of a token-money, like our bank-notes, which had no intrinsic value of its own. The revenues were derived chiefly from the customs, and were largely expended upon the mercenaries, who formed the bulk of the army. The citizens themselves preferred to serve on ship-board.

[1] Accadian *mana*.

IV.

LYDIA.

LYDIA is the link that binds together the geography and history of Asia and Europe. It occupied the western extremity of that great peninsula of Asia Minor, 750 miles in length and 400 in breadth, which runs out from the mountains of Armenia and divides the nations of the north from the happier inhabitants of a southern clime. The broad plains of the Hermos and Kayster, in which the Lydian monarchy grew up, are the richest in Asia Minor, and the mountain chains by which they are girdled, while sufficiently high to protect them, form cool and bracing sites for cities, and are rich in minerals of various kinds. The bays of Smyrna and Ephesos formed incomparable harbours; here the products of the inland could be safely shipped and carried past the bridge of islands which spans the Ægean to the nations of the West. Asia Minor, naturally the richest of countries and blessed with an almost infinite diversity of climates, finds, as it were, in the ancient territory of Lydia the summing-up of its manifold

perfections and characteristics. Rightly, therefore, did the loamy plain of the Kayster give its name of Asian[1] to the rest of the peninsula of which it formed the apex. This peninsula is cut in two by the Halys, which flows from that part of the Taurus range—the western spur of the Armenian mountains—which overlooks the eastern basin of the Mediterranean and forms the background of Kilikia. This geographical division had an influence on the ethnology of the country. As Asia Minor was but a prolongation of Armenia, so too, originally, its population was the same as that which in prehistoric days inhabited the Armenian plateau. From hence it spread westward and southward, down the slopes of the mountains, under the various names of Hittites, Moschi and Tibareni, Komagenians, Kappadokians, and the like. We may term it Proto-Armenian, and see in the Georgians its modern representatives, though doubtless the Circassians and other half-extinct races, which, before the Russian conquest, found a refuge in the fastnesses of the Caucasus, once had their share in populating the neighbouring regions. But a time came when Aryan tribes forced their way along the northern shore of the Caspian, across the Ural mountains, and into the plains of Southern Russia and Central Germany, and when some of them penetrated yet further into the lands afterwards known as Thrakê and Greece. From Thrakê they sailed

[1] *Il.* ii. 461.

across the Hellespont, and one tribe at least, the Bridges or "Free-men," occupied so large a tract of country as to give their name to Phrygia. Other tribes found their way across the Ægean from Greece itself, and under the general tide of Ionians or "emigrants" established themselves on the more accessible parts of the western coast of Asia Minor, where they were joined in the later days of the Dorian conquest by other emigrants from their old home. The older settlers intermarried with the native population and formed in many districts a mixed race. If we might argue from language alone, we should infer that the Phrygians, Mysians, and Lydians were not only Aryans, but more closely allied to the Hellenic stock than any other members of the Aryan family, the Lykians and possibly the Karians alone belonging to the old population. But language can prove no more than social contact; it can give us but little clue to the race of the speakers; and other facts go to show that the Phrygians alone could claim a fairly pure Aryan ancestry, the Mysians and Lydians being essentially mixed. But the Aryans never passed eastward of the Halys; the Assyrian inscriptions make it clear that as late as the seventh century B.C. a non-Aryan population still held the country between that river and Media. It was only when the stream of emigration had brought the Aryan Medes into Media, and the Aryan Persians into Elam, that Aryans also forced their way into

Armenia, changed the Namri of the Assyrian inscriptions into Aryan Kurds, and planted the colony of the Iron or Ossetes in the Caucasus itself.

The Proto-Armenian race has left memorials of itself in the monuments and inscriptions of Lake Van and its neighbourhood. In the ninth century B.C. it borrowed the characters of the Assyrian syllabary, selecting those only which were needed to express the sounds of its language; and the line of monarchs that then ruled at Dhuspas, the modern Van, showed themselves to be able administrators and good generals. Menuas, Argistis, and Sar-duris II., all added to the kingdom, and brought the barbarous tribes of the north and east under their more civilised domination. The gods they worshipped were numerous: Khaldis the supreme god, Teisbas the air-god, Ardinis the sun-god, and Selardis the moon-god, standing at the head. There were, in fact, as many Khaldises as there were local cults; and an inscription of Isbuinis, the father of Menuas, distinguishes four of them by name. The dress of the people consisted of a long fringed robe which reached to the ankles, or of a short tunic resembling that worn by the Greeks, over which an embroidered cloak was sometimes thrown. The short tunic was worn by the soldiers, whose helmets so closely resemble those of the Greeks as to confirm the statement of Hêrodotos (i. 171) that the Greeks derived the crests that adorned them from the Karians. A

short dirk was slung in the belt, and the hands were armed with a small round shield and a long spear. The most peculiar part of the dress, however, were the boots with the ends turned up, such as are still worn by the mountaineers of Asia Minor and Greece. They indicate the cold and hilly region in which their inventors lived. The head was covered sometimes by a close-fitting cap, sometimes by a lofty tiara, sometimes by the Phrygian cap; and the double-headed axe which characterised the aboriginal populations of Asia Minor, and gave a name to Zeus Labrandeus, "Zeus with the double-headed axe," worshipped in Karia, was also used by them. The language of the Vannic inscriptions, as they are termed, may, like Georgian, be called inflectional, though it is neither Aryan nor Semitic. The language revealed by the bilingual inscriptions of Lykia is of the same character.

The most important branch of the Proto-Armenian race were the Hittites, who established themselves in the heart of the Semitic territory, and founded an empire which contended on equal terms with Egypt, and once extended its sway as far as the Ægean. Its two capitals were Kadesh, on an island in the Orontes, and Carchemish, now Jerablûs, the classical Hierapolis, on the Euphrates, about sixteen miles south of Birejik. A Hittite tribe even succeeded in settling in the south of Palestine, in the neighbourhood of Hebron, which, like Jerusalem, would have

been a Hittite foundation if Mariette is right in making the leaders of the Hyksos dynasties Hittites. But the Semites gradually managed to push the Hittites to the north, whence they had come. Kadesh, the southern capital, fell into Syrian hands, and before the reign of Solomon Hamath also had ceased to belong to them. As late, however, as the eighth century B.C. the allied tribe of Patinians extended from the gulf of Antioch to Aleppo, where the territory of the Hittite princes of Carchemish and Pethor (at the junction of the Sajur and Euphrates) commenced.[1] But the Patinians were conquered by Tiglath-Pileser II., and the fall of Carchemish in B.C. 717, when Sargon put its last king, Pisiris, to death, and made it the seat of an Assyrian satrap, marked the final victory of the Semitic race. The Hittite empire, while it lasted, had done much for civilisation. The Hittites invented a system of hieroglyphic writing, suggested doubtless by that of Egypt, and the art developed at Carchemish was a peculiar combination and modification of early Babylonian and Egyptian, in which, however, the Babylonian elements much preponderated. This art, along with the accompanying culture and writing, was carried by them into Asia Minor, which they overran and subdued. They have

[1] The district occupied by the Patinians is called in the Egyptian Inscriptions the land of Nahraina or "the two rivers," from which Kirgipa, the daughter of King Satarona, was brought as a gift to Thi, the wife of Amenophis III.

left memorials of their empire there in the sculptures of Boghaz Keui and Eyuk in Kappadokia, of Ivrîs in Lykaonia, of Ghiaur Kalessi in Phrygia, and of Karabel and "the Niobê" of Sipylos in Lydia. The two figures at Karabel which Hêrodotos, after his visit to Egypt, imagined to be those of Sesostris, were really those of the bitterest enemies of Egypt, and the hieroglyphics which accompanied them were the hieroglyphics, not of Thebes, but of Carchemish. The monuments were erected as sign-posts to the travellers through the pass, and as witnesses that the power which carved them was mistress of Ephesos, of Smyrna, and of Sardes.

The date of this westward extension of the Hittite empire may be fixed from the fifteenth to the thirteenth centuries B.C. Though the Hittites are mentioned in the work on Babylonian astronomy compiled for Sargon of Agadé, they are unknown to the Egyptian monuments till the reign of Thothmes III. In the time of Ramses II. they are able to summon to their aid not only the Kolkhians, but also the Masu or Mysians and the Dardani of the Troad, as well as the Mauna or Mæonians, and the people of Pidasa or Pedasus, showing that at that period their power in the extreme west was unimpaired. But it seems to have decayed soon afterwards, though, according to Tiglath-Pileser I. (B.C. 1130), the Hittites in his time still held possession of Semitic Syria, garrisoning it with Kolkhian

soldiers. The legend reported by Hêrodotos which makes the founder of the Herakleid dynasty of Lydia the son of Ninos, and grandson of Belos, may possibly be an echo of the fact that Carchemish was called *Ninus Vetus*, "the old Nineveh" (Amm. Marcell. xiv. 8; Diod. ii. 3, 7), and that its culture had come from the land of Bel. At all events, the Hêraklês or Sandon who wedded Omphalê, the daughter of Iardanos, and from whom the dynasty derived its name, is the Babylonian sun-god, as modified by Hittite belief, Omphalê being perhaps the Hittite name of the Asiatic goddess.[1]

There were other legends which connected Lydia with the Euphrates; and these were supposed to point to an Assyrian conquest of the country before the Assyrian inscriptions themselves had told us that the Assyrians never passed westward of the Halys, much less knew the name of Lydia, until the age of Assur-bani-pal. The art and culture, the deities and rites, which Lydia owed to Babylonia were brought by the hands of the Hittites, and bore upon them a Hittite stamp. It is with the Hittite period, so strangely recovered but the other day, that Lydian history begins. The legends of an earlier epoch

[1] According to Eusebios, Sardes was first captured by Kimmerian invaders three centuries before the first Olympiad (B.C. 1078). This seems to embody a tradition of the invasion of the Hittites, who came from the same locality as did the Kimmerians in later days. When Strabo says that Lygdamis with a horde of Kimmerians made his way to Lydia and conquered Sardes, though he himself remained in Kilikia, it is possible that the Hittite conquest is also referred to.

given by the native historian Xanthos, according to the fragments of Nikolas of Damascus, are mere myths and fables. The first Lydian dynasty of Atyads was headed by Attys and the moon-god Manes or Mên, and included geographical personages like Lydos, Asios, and Mêlês, or such heroes of folk-lore as Kamblêtês, who devoured his wife, and Tylôn, the son of Omphalê, who was bitten by a snake, but restored to life by a marvellous herb. Here and there we come across faint reminiscences of the Hittite supremacy and the struggle which ended in its overthrow; Akiamos, the successor of the good king Alkimos, sent Askalos or Kayster, the brother of Tantalos, to conquer Syria; and Moxos (or Mopsos) marched into the same region, where he took Atargatis, the goddess of Carchemish, captive, and threw her into the sacred lake. It is probable that the Herakleidæ were at the outset the Hittite satraps of Sardês, whose power increased as that of the distant empire declined, and who finally made themselves independent rulers of the Lydian plain. According to Hêrodotos, Agrôn, called Agelaos by Apollodorus, Kleodaios or Lamos by Diodôros, was the first of the Herakleids, whose rule lasted for 505 years. Xanthos, however, was doubtless more correct in making Sadyattês and Lixos the successors of Tylôn, the son of Omphalê. The dynasty ended with Kandaulês, the twenty-second prince. Gygês, called Gugu in the Assyrian inscriptions, Gog in the

Old Testament, who seems to have been of Karian descent, put him to death, and established the dynasty of the Mermnadæ about B.C. 690.[1] Gygês extended the Lydian dominion as far as the Hellespont, though he was unsuccessful in his attempt to capture the Ionic port of Old Smyrna. Towards the middle of his reign, however, Lydia was overrun by the Kimmerians, the Gimirrai of the Assyrian texts, the Gomer of the Old Testament, who had been driven from their ancient seats on the sea of Azof by an invasion of Skythians, and thrown upon Asia Minor by the defeat they suffered at the hands of Esar-haddon on the northern frontier of the Assyrian empire. The Greek colony of Sinôpê was sacked, and the fame of the barbarian hordes penetrated to Hellenic lands, where the redactor of the Odyssey, the Homer whom Theopompos and Euphoriôn make a contemporary of Gygês, spoke of them[2] as still in the misty region of the eastern Euxine. The lower town of Sardes itself was taken by the Kimmerians, who were mentioned by Kallinos, the Greek poet of Ephesos; and Gygês in his extremity turned to the power which alone had been able to inflict defeat on the barbarian hordes. Accordingly an embassy was sent to Assur-bani-pal; Lydia consented to become the tributary of Assyria, and presents were made to the great king, including two Kimmerian chieftains whom Gygês had captured

[1] According to Eusebios, B.C. 698.

[2] *Od.* xi. 12–19.

with his own hand. It was some time before an interpreter could be found for the ambassadors. The danger passed, and the Lydian king shook off his allegiance, aiding Egypt to do the same. But Assyria was soon avenged. Once more the Kimmerians appeared before Sardes, Gygês was slain and beheaded in battle after a reign of thirty-eight years, and his son Ardys II. again submitted to be the vassal of Sardanapallos. Upon this occasion Sardes seems to have fallen a second time into the hands of its enemies, an event alluded to by Kallisthenês. Alyattês III., the grandson of Ardys, finally succeeded in extirpating the Kimmerian scourge, as well as in taking Smyrna, and thus providing his kingdom with a port. Lydia rapidly progressed in power and prosperity; its ships trafficked in all parts of the Ægean, and its kings sent offerings to Delphi and affected to be Greek. It remained for Krœsos, however, the son of Alyattês, to carry out the policy first planned by Gygês, and make himself suzerain of the wealthy trading cities of Ionia. They were allowed to retain their own institutions and government on condition of recognising the authority of the Lydian monarch, and paying customs and dues to the imperial exchequer. With the commerce of Ionia and the native treasures of Lydia alike at his command, Krœsos became the richest monarch of his age. He reigned alone only fifteen years, but he seems to have shared the royal power for several

years previously with his father. All the nations of Asia Minor as far as the Halys owned his sway. He was on friendly terms with the states of Greece, with Babylonia, and with Media. In fact, Astyagês of Media was his brother-in-law, his sister Aryênis having been married to Astyagês in order to cement the treaty between Alyattês and Kyaxarês, brought about (in B.C. 585), after six years of fighting, by the kindly offices of the Babylonian king, and the intervention of the eclipse foretold by Thalês. The Lydian empire, however, did not long survive the fall of the Median empire. Kyros and Krœsos met in battle on the banks of the Halys about B.C. 540,[1] and though the engagement was indecisive it was followed by a winter campaign of the Persians, which resulted in the defeat of the Lydians before they could summon their allies to their aid, and the capture of Sardes and its citadel. The vulnerable spot was believed to be where the legendary monarch Mêlês had failed to carry the lion, which was a symbol alike of Hittite and of Lydian power; but it was really the path made by one of those ever-recurring landslips which have reduced the crumbling sandstone cliff of the Acropolis to a mere shell, and threaten in a few years to obliterate all traces of the ancient citadel of the Lydian kings.

Religion and Mythology.—The religion of Lydia,

[1] Eusebios makes it B.C. 546, but this is probably a few years too soon.

as of the rest of Asia Minor, was profoundly influenced by that of Babylonia after the modification it had undergone at Carchemish. The Hittites had received the religious conceptions of Chaldea, along with the germs of art and culture, before the rise of Assyria; it is Babylonia, therefore, and not Assyria, that explains them. The Babylonian Nana became the goddess of Carchemish, where in the days of Semitic ascendency she was known as Atargatis and Derketo. The Babylonian sun-god passed into Sandôn of Kilikia and Lydia, the Baal-Tars or Baal of Tarsos of the Aramaic coins. Even the Chaldean story of the Deluge was transplanted to "the sacred city" of Carchemish, the ship becoming an ark, Xisuthros Sisythês, and the mountain of Nizir a pool in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates. From hence the legend was passed on to Apamea, and possibly other towns of Asia Minor as well.

The form and worship of Atargatis were similarly carried westward. The terra-cotta images of Nana, which represent the goddess as nude, with the hands upon the breast, may be traced through Asia Minor into the islands of the Ægean, and even into Greece itself. Dr. Schliemann has found them at Hissarlik, where the "owl-headed" vases are adorned with representations of the same goddess, and they occur plentifully in Kypros. At Carchemish they underwent two different modifications. Sometimes the goddess was provided with a conical cap and four

wings, which branched out behind the back; sometimes she was robed in a long garment, with the *modius* or mural crown upon the head. Terra-cotta statues of her, discovered by Major di Cesnola in Cyprus, set under the mural crown a row of eagles, like the double-headed eagle which appears in the Hittite sculptures at Boghaz Keui and Eyuk. At times the mural crown becomes the *polos*, as in the images disinterred at Mykenæ and Tanagra; at other times the body of the deity takes the shape of a cone, or rather of the aerolite which symbolised her at Troy, at Ephesos, and elsewhere, while the surface is thickly covered with breasts. It was under this latter form, and with the mural crown upon the head, that the Hittite settlers in Ephesos represented the divinity they had brought with them. Here the bee was sacred to her, and her priestesses were called "bees," while the chief priest was ἐσσήν, "the king bee." The bee is similarly employed on Hittite gems, and a gem found near Aleppo represents Atargatis standing on the insect.

The Hittite priestesses who accompanied the worship of the goddess as it spread through Asia Minor were known to Greek legend as Amazons. The cities founded by Amazons—Ephesos, Smyrna, Kymê, Myrina, Priênê, Pitanê—were all of Hittite origin. In early art the Amazons are robed in Hittite costume and armed with the double-headed axe, and the dances they performed with shield and

bow in honour of the goddess of war and love gave rise to the myths which saw in them a nation of woman warriors. The Thermôdôn, on whose banks the poets placed them, was in the neighbourhood of the Hittite monuments of Boghaz Keui and Eyuk, and at Komana in Kappadokia the goddess Ma was served by 6000 ministers.

By the side of Atargatis or Ma, the Ephesian Artemis, called also Kybelê, Kybêbê, and Amma, stood the sun-god Attys or Agdistis, at once the son and bridegroom of the "great goddess" of Asia. Among the Phrygians he was named Papas or "father," and invoked as "the shepherd of the bright stars," a title which reminds us of the Accadian name of the star Arcturus. Attys was symbolised by the fir-tree into which he had been changed after mutilating himself to avoid the love of Kybelê. He is, in fact, the Semitic Adônis; or rather, just as the old Hittite goddess assumed the attributes and functions of the Babylonian Nana, so, too, Attys took upon him the character of Tammuz or Adônis. The rites with which Istar and Tammuz had been worshipped at Babylon were transferred first to Carchemish and then to Asia Minor. The prostitution by which Atargatis was honoured was paralleled by the mutilation and self-torture practised in the name of Attys. His untimely death was mourned by women like the death of Tammuz, and his *galli* or priests were all eunuchs. At Pessinus, where each

was termed an Attys, the chief priest had the title of *archigallos.*

But underneath these imported religious conceptions and rites lay the old nature-worship of the natives of Armenia and Asia Minor. The frenzy that marked the cult of Attys or of Zeus Sabazios in Phrygia, the wild dances, the wanderings in the pine-woods, the use of cymbals and tambourines, the invention of which was ascribed to Asia Minor, were all of older date than the period of Babylonian and Semitic influence. The story of Apollo and the Phrygian flute-player Marsyas, the follower of Kybelê, may imply that the Aryan occupation of Phrygia exorcised the wild and exciting spirit of the native music and of the worship to which it was consecrated. At any rate, as the language of the Phrygian inscriptions proves, the non-Aryan element in the population of that part of Asia Minor was reduced to insignificance, and the supreme god of the country became the Aryan Bagaios.

The close connection between Phrygia and Hellas is shown by the early mythology of Greece. Phrygian heroes like Gordios and Midas form as integral a part of Greek story as do the heroes and poets of Thrakê. It is different with those other lands of Asia Minor which enter into Greek legend. The plain of Troy was rendered famous by the struggles made by the Akhæan fugitives from the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnesos to gain a foothold in

Æolis; the immemorial story of the storming of the sky by the bright powers of day, which had been localised in Thebes, where Greeks and Phœnicians had contended for possession, being again localised by Akhæan poets in the land of their adoption. Sarpêdôn, the Lykian hero, was celebrated in Ionic song, because Apollo Lykios, "the god of light," had been associated with the eastern hills behind which the light-bringing sun-god rose each morning for the Hellenic settlers on the coast; and the tales that grew around the names of Tantalos and Pelops enshrined a real tradition of the day when Hittite culture and Lydian wealth came to the feudal lords of Mykênæ from the golden sands of the Paktôlos.

Art and Literature.—Hittite art was a modification of the art of early Babylonia, though the sphinxes at Eyuk, the Hittite form of the feroher or winged solar disk, and the scarabs found in the neighbourhood of Aleppo, show that Egypt had also exercised an influence upon it. It was characterised by solidity, roundness, and work in relief. The mural crown was a Hittite invention, and the animal forms, in which the Hittite artists specially excelled, were frequently combined to form composite creatures, among which may be mentioned the double-headed eagle, afterwards adopted by the Seljukian sultans, and carried by the crusaders to the German states. This Hittite art is the source of the peculiar art of Asia Minor, which forms a well-marked element in

that of primitive Greece. The famous sculpture at Mykênæ, over the gate to which it has given its name, finds its analogue in a similar heraldic sculpture above a rock-tomb at Kumbet, in the valley of the Sangarios; and the tombs of Midas and other Phrygian kings in the same spot exhibit the architectural devices, the key pattern, and other kinds of ornamentation which we meet with in the early art of Greece. An archaic lion's head from Sardes, built into a wall at Akhmetlü, forms a link between the lions of Hittite sculpture on the one side, and the lions found among the ruins of Mykênæ on the other. The lentoid gems, again, discovered in the islands of the Archipelago, in Krete, at the Heræon of Argos, and on other prehistoric sites, are all closely allied in artistic style to the Hittite carved stones which owe their inspiration to the archaic gems of Babylonia. Still more nearly Hittite in character are the engraved cylinders and seals of chalcedony, and simiar stones, brought from Kypros and from Lydia itself. Long supposed to be rude imitations of Phœnician workmanship, they now turn out to be engraved after Hittite models. They were, indeed, ultimately derived from the art of Babylonia, but through the northern, and not through the southern, channel. It is possible that the gold chatons of rings engraved in imitation of archaic Babylonian patterns, and found by Dr. Schliemann at Mykênæ, may have made their way into Argolis, not directly

from the Babylonians at the time when Sargon of Agadê carried his arms as far as Kypros, but through the intervention of the Hittites, since the double-headed battle-axe of Asia Minor is introduced upon one of them, and a row of animals' heads in true Hittite style appears upon the other.

Greek tradition remembered that Karians as well as Phœnicians had brought the West the culture of the East. Karian tombs were discovered in Delos when the island was purified by the Athenians during the Peloponnesian War.[1] The Greek helmet, a Karian gift, may be ultimately traced back to the warriors of Armenia, and the emblems of the shield to which Hêrodotos ascribes a Karian origin were possibly at the outset the hieroglyphics of Hittite writing. Dr. Köhler once wished to see in the rock-tombs of Spata (perhaps the Attic deme of Sphêttos), the resting-places of Karian dead; and though the discovery of similar remains in Rhodes, in the tomb of Menidi in Attica, at Mykênæ, and elsewhere, shows that the sepulchres themselves belonged to Greek natives, and that their contents mostly exhibit Phœnician influence and trade, yet there are certain objects like an ivory human head crowned with the Hittite tiara which refer us unmistakably to Asia Minor. The butterfly which occurs so plentifully at Mykênæ, and of which specimens, conventionally treated, may be seen on the glass ornaments of

[1] In the winter of B.C. 426. Thuk. i. 8, iii. 104.

Menidi,[1] came more probably from Asia Minor than from Phœnicia. On the other hand, the gold masks with which the faces of the dead were covered seem to be of Phœnician derivation, since they were suggested by the gilded mummy faces of the Egyptians, who sometimes used gold masks besides, as is evidenced by the golden mask of Prince Kha-em-Uas of the eighteenth dynasty, now in the Louvre; while the corpse of a child covered with a mask of gold has been disinterred at Arvad.

Silver was the metal which more especially attracted the Hittites. Their monuments in Asia Minor are chiefly in the neighbourhood of silver mines, which they were the first to work. The Hittite copy of the treaty with Ramses II. was accompanied by a plate of silver, with a likeness of the god Sutekh in the middle, and an inscription running round it. A similar circular plate has been found, which apparently covered the handle of a dirk, with a figure of a king in the centre, a Hittite inscription twice repeated on either side, and a cuneiform legend running round the rim. These circular silver disks, with an image in the middle, and an inscription surrounding it, very probably suggested the idea of coined money, which was primarily of silver, and the invention of which was ascribed to the Lydians. The practice of using silver as a writing material seems to have been general among the Hittite tribes.

[1] See "Das Kuppelgrab bei Menidi" (1880), pl. iv. 12.

M. Renan has found niches cut in the rocks of Syria which would fit the written silver-plates of the Hittites as depicted on the monuments of Egypt, and the Hittite hieroglyphics are always carved in relief, even when the material is hard stone.

There hieroglyphics were of native invention, though probably suggested by the sight of Egyptian writing. The Egyptian monuments speak of Khilipsira "the writer of books of the vile Kheta," and Kirjath-sepher, or "book town," was one of their settlements in Southern Palestine. They carried their writing with them into the furthest extremity of Asia Minor—one of the pseudo-Sesostres in the pass of Karabel having a Hittite inscription still legible upon it; and out of it, apparently, was formed a syllabary, which we may term Asianic. This syllabary was in use throughout Asia Minor before the introduction of the simpler Phœnician alphabet, and a local branch of it was employed in conservative Kypros as late as the fourth or third century B.C. Elsewhere we find it only on objects discovered by Dr. Schliemann in the lower strata of Hissarlik, though certain characters belonging to it were retained in historical times in the various Asianic alphabets—Kappadokian, Mysian, Lydian, Lykian, Karian, Pamphylian, and Kilikian—to express sounds not represented by the letters of the Ionic alphabet. As the latter alphabet still contained the digamma when it superseded the older syllabary, its adoption

could not have been later than the middle of the seventh century B.C.

Lydian literature has wholly perished, though the fragments of the native historian, Xanthos, prove that annals had been kept for some generations at least previous to the accession of the Mermnadæ; and we may infer from the Babylonian character and colouring of the earliest Ionic philosophies that Lydian writers had already made the philosophic ideas of the far East familiar to their countrymen.

Trade.—Lydia was essentially a trading community. But just as the complexion of the Babylonian culture brought by the Hittites to the West differed from that brought by the Phœnicians in being carried overland by conquerors, and in therefore being more penetrating and permanent, so too the industrial character of the Lydians differed from that of the Phœnicians. Their trade was an inland, not a maritime one. Sardes was the meeting-place of the caravans that journeyed from the interior along the two high-roads constructed by the Hittites,—the one traversed by Krœsos when he marched against Kyros, and leading by Ghiaur-Kalessi and Ancyra to Boghaz Keui; the other, afterwards used by Xenophon and the Ten Thousand, which ran southwards through Lykaonia and Ikonion, and after passing through the Kilikian Gates, joined the thoroughfare from Carchemish to Antioch and the bay of Scanderûn. Unlike Phœnicia, moreover, Lydia was

rich in its own resources. Gold, emery, and other minerals were dug out of its mountains; its plains were luxuriant beyond description; its hill-sides clothed with thick forests. The policy of the Mermnadæ was to make their state the industrial centre of East and West. The conquest of the Ionian cities which had succeeded to the commercial empire of the Phœnicians threw into their hands the trade of the Mediterranean, and Abydos was occupied by Gygês in order to command the entrance to the cornlands of the Euxine. Pamphaês of Ephesos was the banker of Krœsos, and money was coined for the first time by the Lydian kings. The standard, as Mr. Barclay Head has shown, was the silver "mina of Carchemish," as the Assyrians called it, the Babylonian, as it was termed by the Greeks, which contained 8656 grains. This standard, originally derived by the Hittites from Babylonia, but modified by themselves, was passed on to the nations of Asia Minor during the epoch of Hittite conquest, and from them was received by Pheidon of Argos and the Greeks. The standard, it will be observed, was a silver, and not a gold one, silver being the favourite Hittite metal. Six small silver bars, each originally weighing the third part of the "Babylonian" mina, were discovered by Dr. Schliemann at Hissarlik, and the standard was that according to which the electron coins of Gygês were struck. Little by little, however, it was superseded by the heavier Phœnician

mina of 11,225 grains, also, no doubt, primitively of Babylonian origin. Thrakê, Lydia, and the western and southern coast of Asia Minor, all adopted the new standard, and it was only in conservative Kypros and on the neighbouring shores of Kilikia that the old mina remained in use down to the age of Alexander the Great.

V.

THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.

PERSIA proper, roughly corresponding to the modern province of Farsistan, was comparatively a small district, about 450 miles in length by 250 in breadth. Eastward it touched on Kermân or Karamania, westward it was bounded by Susiana, southward by the Persian Gulf. Its inhabitants were Aryans, whose immigration into the country called after their name was hardly earlier than the period of the fall of the first Assyrian empire. The Assyrian inscriptions know little about them. Under leaders termed Akhæmenians (from *Hakhámanish*, "the friendly") the tribe of the Persians pushed its way into the old kingdom of Anzan, or Southern Elam, which had been destroyed and desolated by the armies of Assur-bani-pal, and subsequently left a prey to the first invader by the decay of the Assyrian power. The tribe was but one out of many which had long been steadily advancing westward from the regions of the Hindu Kush. The first great wave of Aryan emigration, which had resulted in the establishment of the

European nations, had been followed by another wave which first carried the Hindus into the Punjab, and then the Iranian populations into the vast districts of Baktria and Ariana. Mountains and deserts checked for a time their further progress, but at length a number of tribes, each under its own chiefs, crept along the southern shores of the Caspian or the northern coast of the Persian Gulf. These tribes were known in later history as the Aryan Medes and Persians.

The Medes are first mentioned on the Assyrian monuments by Shalmaneser II. (B.C. 840) under the double name of Amadai and Matai, and placed in Matiênê. Between them and the Namri of Kurdistan intervened the people of Par'suas, with their twenty-seven kings, who occupied the south-western shore of Lake Urumiyeh. But it is doubtful whether these Matai were really the Aryan Medes and not rather "Protomedes," allied in race and language to the Kossæans and Elamites, and more distantly to the Accadians of primæval Babylonia. At any rate the name seems derived from the Accadian *mada*, "country," a title appropriately given to the country where the "mountain of the world" was situated, and which was held to be the cradle of the Accadian race; while the name of Khanatsiruka, who ruled over the Matai in B.C. 820, certainly has not an Aryan sound. Most of the Median districts on the southern and south-western shores of the Caspian

enumerated by Tiglath-Pileser II. have non-Aryan names, and the Median chieftains with such Aryan names as Pharnes, Ariya, and Vastakku, who are mentioned by Sargon (in B.C. 713), belonged to the extreme east. In fact the district of Partakanu, which represents the Median Parêtakêni of Hêrodotos, is recorded last in Sargon's list; and Esar-haddon, who divides it into the two provinces of Partakka and Partukka, describes it as the furthest place east in the known world. The other Median tribes of Hêrodotos were still unknown to the Assyrian kings.

With the fall of the Assyrian empire, however, came a change. The scattered tribes of præ-Aryan Media were united under a single monarchy by Kastarit or Kyaxarês. Hitherto they had been divided into a multitude of small states, each governed independently by its own chief, or "city lord," as he is termed by Esar-haddon. Kyaxarês, according to Hêrodotos, was the descendant of Dêiokês, the builder of Ekbatana, a name which appears as Daiukku in the Assyrian records. One Daiukku, a chief of the Minni (on the western shore of Lake Urumiyeh) under their king Ullusun, was transported to Hamath by Sargon in 715 B.C., and two or three years later the Assyrian monarch made an expedition to the three adjoining districts of Ellibi, Karalla, and Bit-Daiukku, "the house of Dêiokês." Ellibi lay on the eastern frontier of Kurdistan, and included the land of Aranzi—a name preserved in the Orontes

mountains of classical geography, the Urvanda of the old Persians—where Ekbatana was afterwards founded. Karalla intervened between the northern boundary of Ellibi and the south-eastern shores of Lake Urumiyeh. It is just possible that the Median kings of Ktêsias, Astibaras, and Artaios, may represent (Rita or) Dalta, who was placed on the throne of Ellibi by Sargon in B.C. 709, and his son, Ispabara, who came into conflict with Sennacherib. However this may be, Kastarit was king of that part only of Media in which the city of Caru-kassi was situated, his ally Mamiti-arsu having the general title "city lord of the Medes." Along with the Minni, the people of 'Saparda or Sepharad—a small district on the east of Ellibi—and the Kimmerians, the two allies attacked and overthrew the Assyrian power. Kastarit now seems to have turned against his friends, and to have gradually extended his sway over the whole region vaguely known as Armenia and Western Media. Peace was established between him and Alyattês of Lydia in B.C. 585 through the kindly offices of his ally Nebuchadrezzar, and the Halys made the boundary of the Median and Lydian empires. Under the shadow of Mount Urvanda or Elwend, Agamtanu or Ekbatana (now Hamadan) was founded in imitation of the new Babylon Nebuchadrezzar had built. The kingdom of Ekbatana usurped the name of Media, partly owing to the Median conquests of Kyaxarês, partly in con-

sequence of a confusion of words. Istuvegu or Astyagês, the successor of Kyaxarês, is never styled king of Media in the contemporaneous Babylonian inscriptions of Nabonidos and Kyros. He is, on the contrary, king of "the barbarians" or *tsab manda; manda* being a term of general meaning applied by Esar-haddon to the Kimmerians and in older documents to the Kurdish tribes. The Mada or Medes, on the other hand, were the heterogeneous populations east of Kurdistan. But the Persian writers and the Greeks who followed them must have confused the two words together and changed the king of "the barbarians" into the king of "Medes." The whole passage in the cylinder-inscription of Nabonidos, which gives to Astyagês the title of king of the barbarians, is worth quoting. Nabonidos first states that the "temple of Rejoicing," the shrine of the Moon-god at Harran, had been destroyed by the *tsab manda*, or "barbarian host," when they captured and ruined the city. Then he goes on to say: "At the beginning of my long reign, Merodach, the great lord, and Sin, the illuminator of heaven and earth, the strengthener of the universe, revealed to me a dream. Merodach says to me: 'O Nabonidos, king of Babylon, go up with the horse of thy chariot; make bricks for the Temple of Rejoicing, and place within it the seat of Sin, the great lord.' Reverently I say to Merodach supreme among the gods: 'I will build this temple whereof

thou speakest. The barbarians went about it, and their forces were terrible.' Merodach answered me: 'The barbarians of whom thou hast spoken shall not exist, neither they nor their land, nor the kings their allies.' In the third year when it came, when (the barbarians) had caused Kyros, the king of Anzan, his young servant, to march with his army, they provoked him (to battle): the widespread barbarians he overthrew; he captured Astyagês, king of the barbarians, and seized his treasures; to his own land he took (them)." After this Nabonidos carried out the will of the gods. His "vast army" was summoned from Gaza on the one side, to the Persian Gulf on the other, and set to work to restore the temple of Harran, which had been built three centuries previously by the Assyrian king, Shalmaneser II., and subsequently repaired by Assur-bani-pal. On his own cylinder, Kyros, "king of Anzan," similarly declares that Merodach had made the Kurds of Gutium and the Manda or barbarians "bow down before his feet."

Kyaxarês was succeeded by his son Istuvegu, the Astyagês of the Greek writers, whom later Persian legend confounded with the tyrant Zohak or Azhi-dahâka, "the biting snake" of night and darkness, celebrated in ancient Aryan mythology. The classical historians connected him by marriage with his conqueror Kyros, but the recent discovery of contemporaneous records has proved their accounts

to be so largely mixed with fable that it becomes unsafe to accept any statement not supported by monumental authority. Kyros was the son of Kambysês, the son of Kyros, the son of Teispês, who had been the first to establish the Persian rule in Anzan or Western Elam, which extended from the district of Susa in the north to the Persian Gulf in the south.[1] Dareios, the son of Hystaspês, who traces his descent through Arsamês and Ariaramnês to Teispês, the son of Akhæmenês, probably refers to the same Teispês, and would therefore be justified in his claim to be of the royal race. It is even possible that while Kyros I. and Kambysês I. were ruling in Anzan, Ariaramnês and Arsamês governed the more unmixed Aryan part of the population in Persis. At any rate Dareios declares that eight of his race had been kings before him; and while his own ancestors all bear thoroughly Aryan names, the names Kyros and Kambysês seem to be of Elamite derivation. Strabo,[2] indeed, says that Kyros was originally called Agradates, and took the name of Kurus or Kuras from the river that flows past Pasargadæ; while Nikolaus Damascenus, doubtless quoting Ktêsias, made him the son of the peasant

[1] Sir H. Rawlinson has pointed out that the learned Arabic writer, Ibn en-Nadim, "who had unusually good means of information as to genuine Persian traditions," ascribes the invention of Persian writing to Jemshid, the son of Vivenghan, who dwelt at Assan, one of the districts of Shushan (*Jrl. R. A. S.* xii. 1, Jan. 1880).

[2] xv. 3.

Atradates, the Mitradates of Hêrodotos, whom he calls an Amardian. The Amardians, it must be remembered, were an Elamite tribe bordering upon the Persians and intervening between them and the Susians, whose dialects closely resembled their own. They seem to be the Khapirti or Apirti of the inscriptions, who inhabited the plain of Mal-Amir.

It was in B.C. 549 that Astyagês was overthrown. On his march against Kyros his own soldiers, drawn probably from his Aryan subjects, revolted against him and gave him into the hands of his enemy. "The land of Ekbatana and the royal city" were ravaged and plundered by the conqueror; the Aryan Medes at once acknowledged the supremacy of Kyros, and the empire of Kyaxarês was destroyed. Some time, however, was still needed to complete the conquest; the older Medic population still held out in the more distant regions of the empire, and probably received encouragement and promises of help from Babylonia. In B.C. 546, however, Kyros marched from Arbêla, crossed the Tigris, and destroyed the last relics of Median independence. It was on this occasion that he must have captured Larissa or Resen and Mespila or Muspilu, near the site of Nineveh, whose ruins were seen by Xenophon (*Anab.* iii. 4). The daughter of Astyagês had taken refuge in Mespila, which was strongly fortified. The following year saw the opening of the campaign against Babylonia. But the Babylonian army, en-

camped near Sippara, formed a barrier which the Persians were unable to overcome; and trusting, therefore, to undermine the power of Nabonidos by secret intrigues with his subjects, Kyros proceeded against Krœsos. A single campaign sufficed to capture Sardes and its monarch, and to add Asia Minor to the Persian dominions. The Persian conqueror was now free to attack Babylonia.

Here his intrigues were already bearing fruit. The Jewish exiles were anxiously expecting him to redeem them from captivity, and the tribes on the sea coast were ready to welcome a new master. In B.C. 538 the blow was struck. The Persian army entered Babylonia from the south. The army of Nabonidos was defeated at Rata in June; on the 14th of that month Sippara opened its gates, and two days later Gobryas, the Persian general, marched into Babylon itself "without battle and fighting." The elaborate fortifications of the queen-mother had been in vain; traitors had worked on the side of the invader. In October Kyros himself entered his new capital in triumph; priests and scribes alike strove to do him honour, and to account him as one of their native kings. The fall of Nabonidos was attributed to his neglect of the gods, and the politic Kyros did his best to encourage the illusion by professing, along with his son Kambysês, to be a zealous worshipper of the Babylonian deities. Their images were restored to their shrines with great

state, the Persian monarch and his heir-apparent taking part in the solemn processions, and the new sovereign styled himself, like his predecessors, "the worshipper" and "servant" of Bel-Merodach and Nebo. It is probable that the ruler of Western Elam had always been a polytheist. Zoroastrian monotheism was first made the state-religion by Darius Hystaspis, who represented a more genuinely Aryan stock than the collateral family of Kyros. The excesses of Kambysês in Egypt were dictated not by religious fanaticism, but by political suspicion, as is proved by the inscriptions in which he avows his adherence to the old Egyptian creed. The stelê which commemorates the death of the Apis bull, said by Hêrodotos to have been slain by Kambysês, shows that, on the contrary, it had died a natural death, had been buried under his auspices, and had monumental authority for accounting him one of its worshippers.

The fall of Babylon brought with it the submission of the tributary kings, including those of Phœnicia. If we may listen to Greek legend, Kyros fell in battle with the wild Skythian tribes of the north-east. But the same myths that grew up around his birth and early history seem also to have gathered round his death. Just as Persian ballads fastened upon him the old story of the solar hero who is exposed to death in infancy, and after being saved by miracle, and brought up in obscurity, is finally discovered

and restored to his high estate, so too the old lesson of the punishment of human pride and greatness was taught by the legend of his death. The woman-warrior Tomyris was made to quell the great conqueror, and to throw his head into the bowl of human blood where he might drink his fill.

Before his death Kyros had made his son Kambysês king of Babylon, reserving for himself the supreme title, "king of the world." His death occurred in B.C. 529, at least two years afterwards. The first act of Kambysês, as sole ruler, was to murder his brother Bardes, the Smerdis of Hêrodotos, to whom his father had bequeathed a portion of the empire. Then followed the invasion and conquest of Egypt, and the distant expeditions against Ethiopia and the Oasis of Ammon. The long absence of the monarch and the army soon produced its inevitable consequences. The loosely-cemented empire began to fall to pieces. The revolt was headed by the Medic tribe of Magians. The Magian Gomates personated the murdered Bardes, and seized the throne. He represented the non-Aryan portion of the population, which viewed with jealousy the increasing influence of the Aryan element. Kambysês, like Kyros, it is true, had not been a Zoroastrian, and the personator of his brother could thus overthrow the altars and temples of Zoroastrianism without imperilling his imposture; but he had countenanced and probably favoured it.

During his absence the government had been in the hands of the great Aryan families, who traced their descent from the royal clan of Akhæmenês, and these families were all Zoroastrian. Hence in the Magian usurpation we see at once a political and a religious revolt. It was directed against Aryan supremacy and the worship of Ormazd, the supreme deity of the Zoroastrian creed, and it was at the same time a signal for the different nationalities which composed the empire of Kyros to recover their independence. Before it could be crushed Kambysês committed suicide, after reigning eleven years as king of Babylon, and about eight years as sole monarch.

The reign of Gomates did not last a year. Dareios the son of Hystaspês, with six other Persian nobles, overthrew the usurper and slew him in Nisæa in Media, where he had taken refuge among his clansmen (B.C. 521). Zoroastrianism was made the religion of the empire; the temples of Ormazd, which Gomates had destroyed, were restored; and the Aryan families of Persia and Media were brought back from exile. If we may trust Dr. Oppert's rendering of a passage in the "Protomedic" transcript of the great Behistun Inscription, where Dareios records the deeds and successes of his life, the Avesta or sacred book of Zoroastrianism, along with its commentary, was republished and promulgated throughout the empire.

The flight of Gomates was the signal for the

massacre of all his followers and tribesmen who were left in Persia. The Magophonia long continued to be a popular festival in Persia, when it was unsafe for a Magian to venture out of doors. But the spirit of revolt was by no means extinguished. Immediately after the death of the pseudo-Bardes, Susiana and Babylonia alike shook off the Persian yoke. Under the leadership of Assina the Susians claimed again the freedom which Teispês had taken from them, and the extinction of the family of Kyros seemed a favourable opportunity for recovering it. Babylon revolted under Nidintabel, who called himself "Nebuchadrezzar the son of Nabonidos," the last Babylonian king. But the Susian rebellion was soon put down. Babylon took longer to reduce. After defeating Nidintabel at Zasana, Dareios laid siege to the city. It was taken June B.C. 519 after a blockade of nearly two years, the Persians penetrating into the city during a festival by marching along the dry channel of the Euphrates. By this time, however, the non-Aryan population of Media was in revolt under Phraortês, who called himself Sattarritta or Kyaxarês, the descendant of Vakistarra. Battle after battle was fought in Armenia by the Persian generals; until at last Phraortês was captured in Rhagæ and impaled. It was the last struggle for independence; from this time forward the older population acknowledged the supremacy of the Aryan intruders, and became merged in the latter. Hence-

forth by Medians are meant the Aryan kindred of the Persians themselves.

It cost Dareios some trouble yet to reconquer the empire of Kyros. A second revolt, promptly suppressed, took place among the Susians, and a second one also among the Babylonians. This time it was an Armenian who professed to be Nebuchadrezzar the son of Nabonidos, but his career was soon closed by the capture of Babylon in B.C. 513. The Sagartians arose in unsuccessful insurrection under a leader who claimed to be a descendant of the Median Vakistarra, a proof that the Median empire had once included Sagartia. As the Parthians and Hyrkanians had followed Phraortês, we may perhaps infer that Parthia and Hyrkania also had formed part of the old Median monarchy. A second pseudo-Bardes also had to be crushed; he was a native of Tarava, the modern Tarun in Luristan, but, though born in Aryan territory, was followed not by Persians, but by Susianians. He, too, was defeated and slain in Arachosia. Margiana, moreover, had risen in revolt; but as unsuccessfully as the other provinces of the empire. Dareios was at last free to organise and settle what he had won back with so much difficulty and labour.

In the work of organisation Dareios proved himself a master. The empire was made a homogeneous whole, with its centre at Susa or Shushan. For the first time in history centralisation becomes a political

fact. The king was the source of all authority and all dignities; every subject was equal before the throne, which was the fountain of law. It is true that a council, consisting of the seven leading families and a hereditary sub-nobility, sat without the will of the king; but this relic of a period when Persia had not yet become an empire had neither power nor influence against the bureaucracy which managed the government, and even the great king himself. The government of Persia became what the government of Turkey has been of late years—a highly centralised bureaucracy, the members of which owed their offices to an irresponsible despot. The centralisation of Persia stands in marked contrast to the decentralisation of Greece, as well as of the Aryan Medes themselves before the rise of the Median monarchy. The empire was divided into at least twenty satrapies,[1] communication being kept up between them by roads and posts which all met in Susa. Each satrap was responsible for a fixed tribute of from 170 to 1000 Euboic silver talents (£42,000 to £250,000), out of which the civil and military officers, the army, and the satrap himself, were paid. It was of course the interest of the crown to prevent the provinces from being exhausted by additional taxation, but the satrap generally managed to squeeze a good deal more than the fixed

[1] Dareios mentions twenty-three at Behistun, twenty-nine on his tomb at Naksh-i-Rustám.

tribute out of his subjects. The satraps were like small kings; indeed their official residences were called palaces, and in some cases, as for example in Kilikia, the native princes were allowed to hold rule. The danger to the Government caused by the power of the satrap and his distance from the central authority was diminished in several ways. Royal scribes or secretaries were employed to send up reports of the satraps and their actions to the king, and from time to time an officer came down from the court with an armed force to inspect a province. The satraps themselves were generally connected with the king by birth or marriage, and in Persia proper royal judges went on circuit at least once a year. According to Xenophon the control of the troops was further handed over to a separate commander, and it would seem that important fortresses like Sardes were also entrusted to an independent officer. Owing, however, to the weakness occasioned by this division of authority, the civil and military powers were united in the satrapies which bordered on dangerous enemies, such as the Greeks, and it was accordingly in these frontier satrapies that revolts like that of the younger Kyros broke out. The districts of which a satrapy was composed were not always contiguous. The imperial exchequer received no less than 7740 talents or £2,964,000 a year from nineteen of the provinces, which paid in silver, and of which Babylonia contributed the most, and

4680 Euboic talents or £1,290,000 from the twentieth or Indian province, which paid in gold. The provinces had further to furnish tribute in kind, grain, sheep, and the like, and rates were levied in many places for the use of water and of the royal demesnes, while the taxes derived from such things as fisheries were farmed by the State. The gold and silver darics coined from the specie collected at Susa, and impressed with a rude representation of an archer, were remarkably pure, containing respectively 124 and 224 to 230 grains of pure metal.

While this work of organisation was being completed the empire was at peace. Then came a war against Iskunka the Sakian chief, succeeded by a campaign in the East. The Indus was first explored by a naval expedition under Skylax, a Karian Greek; this was followed by the conquest of the Punjab. Dareios was now free to secure his north-western frontier. The Skythian coast on the Black Sea was explored as the Indus had been, the Bosporus was bridged by Mandroklês the Samian, and the steppes of Southern Russia were swept by the Persian army. The impression left on the Skythian mind was never wiped out; the empire was henceforward safe on that side. Meanwhile Megabazos with another army had reduced Thrakê, and made Makedonia a tributary kingdom.

Shortly afterwards, in B.C. 501, came the Ionic revolt. Sardes was burnt by the Athenians, and

Dareios, bent on vengeance, no longer delayed to listen to the exile Hippias, and to demand the submission of Athens and the restoration of its tyrant. Mardonios was sent against the offending city with a large army. But his fleet was wrecked off Mount Athos, and the land-force surprised by the wild Thrakian tribe of Briges. Two years later (B.C. 490) the Persian army under Datis was again hurled against Attika; but Athenian valour at Marathon drove back a power hitherto held invincible, and saved Greece. For three years Asia was now astir with preparations for crushing the handful of citizens that had dared to resist the mighty Persian empire. Fortunately for Athens, Egypt revolted at the moment when the preparations were completed (B.C. 487), and diverted the blow which would have fallen upon her. Before the revolt could be suppressed Dareios died in the sixty-third year of his age and the thirty-sixth of his reign (B.C. 486).

His son and successor Xerxês, born in the purple, was a different man from his father. Weak, vain, and luxurious, it need not surprise us that the huge and unwieldy host he led against Hellas returned shattered and discomfited, and that after the defeat of Mardonios with his picked Persian and Median troops at Platæa, the war that Persia carried into Europe should have recoiled back into Asia. The islands of the Ægean, the Greek colonies of Asia Minor, the wild coasts of Thrakê, the command of

the Hellespont, were one by one wrested from the great king by Athenian skill and enterprise. The sole result of the attempt to enslave Greece was to found the Athenian empire, and to make Athens the intellectual and artistic leader of the world then and thereafter. Before the campaign against Greece had been entered upon, Xerxês had punished the Babylonians for their murder of the satrap Zopyros by destroying the temple of Bel and the other shrines of the ancient gods.

Xerxês was murdered by two of his courtiers in B.C. 466, at the instigation, it was believed, of Amestris, the only wife he had ever married. His third son, Artaxerxês I. Longimanus, had to win his way to the throne by crushing the Baktrians under his brother Hystaspês, and murdering another brother. In B.C. 455 an Egyptian revolt was put down after lasting for five years, and in B.C. 449 a treaty of peace, known as that of Kallias, was made between Persia and Athens,—Athens agreeing to relinquish Kypros, and Persia renouncing her claims to supremacy over the Greek cities of Asia Minor. Not long afterwards Megabyzos, the satrap of Syria, revolted, and extorted terms of peace from his suzerain, the first open sign of the inner decay of the empire.

Artaxerxês, who, like his father, had but one legitimate wife, Damaspia, was succeeded by his son Xerxês II. (B.C. 425), who was assassinated at a ban-

quet forty-five days after by his illegitimate brother, Sekydianos or Sogdianos. Sogdianos was murdered in turn by Okhos, another bastard son of Artaxerxês, about six months later. Okhos took the name of Dareios, and is known to history as Dareios II. Nothos.

He had married his aunt Parysatis, daughter of Xerxês, and his reign of nineteen years was one long series of revolts, most of which were crushed mercilessly. The first was headed by his brother Arsitês; then came those of Pissuthnês, the Lydian satrap, of Media, and of Egypt. The loss of Egypt, however, was compensated by the restoration of Persian authority over the Greeks of Asia Minor in consequence of the destruction of the Athenian power at Syrakuse.

Dareios II. was followed by his son, Artaxerxês II. Mnêmon (B.C. 405), in spite of the efforts of his wife Parysatias to substitute for the latter her younger and abler son, Kyros. Four years later Kyros left his satrapy in Asia Minor, and marched against his brother with about 13,000 Greek mercenaries and 100,000 native troops. The battle of Cunaxa ended his life and his claim to the throne, and the retreat of the Greeks under Xenophôn became one of the great feats of history. But the authority of the Persian king was gone in the West. Mysia, Pisidia, and Paphlagonia were all practically independent; Sparta protected the Greek colonies, and her forces under Derkyllidas and Agesilaos made themselves masters of Western Asia (B.C. 399-

395), and might have anticipated Alexander had not Persian gold sowed dissension at home. A league was formed between Persia, Athens, and other Greek states; the Long Walls were rebuilt at Athens with Persian money, and Sparta was forced to sign the disgraceful peace of Antalkidas (B.C. 387), by which all Asia was restored to the great king. In B.C. 379 Evagoras of Salamis, who, with Egyptian and Athenian help, had made Kypros and Kilikia independent and conquered Tyre, was finally crushed. But the decay of the empire could not be checked. The satraps of Phrygia and Kappadokia shook off their allegiance, and in B.C. 362 a general but unsuccessful revolt took place in Asia Minor and Syria. Three years later Artaxerxês died at the age of ninety-four, according to the doubtful statement of Plutarch. His son and successor, Okhos, had already caused the deaths of three of his brothers, and his first act on mounting the throne was to destroy, as far as he could, the other princes of the royal family. His attempt to recover Egypt failed, and Phœnicia and Kypros declared themselves free. Idrieus, vassal king of Karia, however, reduced Kypros. Sidon, the head of the Phœnician revolt, was destroyed, and Egypt reconquered by the Persian general, the eunuch Bagôas, and the able Greek admiral Mentôr, the Rhodian. For six years there was peace, thanks to Bagôas, who had become Vizier, and Mentôr, who was entrusted with

the protection of the sea-board. But in B.C. 338 Okhos was poisoned by his Vizier, who raised his son Arsês to the throne after murdering all his brothers. Two years afterwards Arsês also and his children were assassinated, and Bagôas now placed the crown on the head of a personal friend, Kodomannos, the son of Arsanês. Kodomannos, who took the name of Dareios III., was not of the royal family, according to Strabo (xv. 3, 24), though this is contradicted by Diodôros (xvii. 5, 5). It was not long before he was called upon to contest his empire with Alexander of Makedon. In the spring of B.C. 334 Alexander crossed the Hellespont with a force of over 30,000 foot, and between four and five thousand horse. In May the battle of the Graneikos placed Asia Minor at his feet. Memnon, the brother of the Rhodian Mentôr, the only Persian general equal to the task of checking the Makedonian conqueror, died early in the following year, and Alexander was now free to advance into the heart of Persia. Dareios and his army were well nigh annihilated in the Pass of Issos on the Bay of Antioch (in November); his wife, mother, and baggage fell into the hands of the enemy; Tyre and Gaza were besieged and captured; Egypt was occupied by the Greeks; and at the Oasis of Ammon Alexander was hailed as the son of Zeus. At length, in B.C. 331, the decisive moment came. A new army had been collected by the Persian

king from his eastern dominions, and was strongly posted about thirty miles from the site of Nineveh awaiting the attack of the Makedonians. The battle was fought in October at Gaugamela, twenty miles distant from Arbêla, and ended with the total rout of the Persian host, the flight of Dareios, and the fall of his empire. Alexander entered Babylon in triumph, assumed imperial pomp at Susa, where the spoils carried from Greece by Xerxês were discovered and sent back, and, if we may believe the current story, fired the royal palace of Persepolis in a fit of drunken insanity. Dareios was then pursued, first to Ekbatana, next to Rhagæ and Baktria, where the hapless monarch was seized and finally murdered by the satrap Bessos. The reduction of the rest of the Persian empire by Alexander quickly followed.

Religion and Mythology.—The religion of Persia was Zoroastrianism. But the nature and teaching of Zoroastrianism varied at different times and in different localities. The inscriptions make it plain that the Zoroastrianism of Dareios and his successors was widely different from that of later times. The early populations of Media and Elam, dispossessed or overlaid by the Aryan invaders, had the same shamanistic form of religion as the Accadians of primitive Chaldea. They were grossly polytheistic, and the polytheism of Elam had in later days been largely affected by the religious beliefs and practices

of Semitic Babylonia, more especially by the worship of Nana or Istar. On the other hand, the Iranian emigrants had monotheistic tendencies. The supreme god Ahura-mazda, "the lord who gives knowledge," tended to absorb all the other deities of the original Aryan creed. The gods of Vedic nature-worship became his attributes and creatures. But this nature-worship had included evil powers as well as beneficent powers, night as well as darkness, pain as well as pleasure, the serpent as well as the sun-god who slays him. Gradually the conflict between these opposites assumed a moral form in the minds of the Iranian wanderers; the struggle between night and day, between the storm and the blue sky, of which the Vedic poets sang, was transformed into a struggle between good and evil. In place of the careless nature-worshipper of the Panjâb, a race of stern and earnest Puritans grew up among the deserts and rugged mountains of Ariana.

M. Darmesteter has tried to show that the transformation and development were natural. But the attempt is unsuccessful. Though there is much in Zoroastrianism (or Mazdeism) that is clearly a natural development out of the elements we find in Vedic religion,—though the fundamental ideas upon which Mazdeism rests have grown out of the conceptions common to all the primitive Aryans alike, —it is nevertheless impossible to explain the individual character that has been stamped upon it

without assuming the existence of an individual founder. We must accept the historical reality of Zoroaster or Spitama Zarathustra. Zoroastrianism implies a prophet as much as Mohammedanism.

According to the usual opinion, this prophet lived and taught in Baktriana. Zend, the language of the Avesta, the sacred book of Mazdeism, differs dialectically from the Old Persian spoken in Persia Proper by Dareios and his subjects, and is ordinarily believed to have been the language of Baktriana. M. Darmesteter, however, supposes the original home of Mazdeism to have been Atropatênê; but as he further supposes that Mazdeism did not take its start here till the sixth century B.C., his views do not clash with the received theory which makes Baktriana the first seat of Zoroastrianism and of the language of its sacred books. Another theory has been started by M. de Harlez.[1] He makes Rhagæ (now Kaleh Erij) and Mouru or Meru the birthplace of the new creed in the seventh century B.C. But Rhagæ, again, under the shadow of Mount Demavend, only marks a stage in the western progress of the Iranian tribes; and the same Parsi legend which relates that the prophet was born in Rai or Rhagæ makes him teach his religion in Baktria at the court of King Vistâsp.

A more important question, however, remains

[1] See his exhaustive review of the subject in his *Introduction à l' Étude de l' Avesta*, 1882.

behind. The two scholars just mentioned not only think that Zend was the language of Aryan Media rather than of Baktria, but they also hold that Mazdeism itself, as embodied in the Avesta, was taught and promulgated by the Magi. In the revolt of the pseudo-Bardes M. Darmesteter sees not an uprising of the old non-Aryan faith, but an attempt to impose the peculiar tenets of the priestly tribe of Magians upon the rest of the people. The chief arguments in favour of this hypothesis are sought in the classical writers. Strabo (xv. 14) describes the Magi as a sacerdotal caste spread over the land, and Hêrodotos (i. 140) states that it was the Magi who practised the peculiarly Mazdean duty of killing noxious animals, and required the corpse to be devoured by birds, not buried in the ground. But in Strabo's time the old distinctions between the Aryan and the non-Aryan portions of the population had been obliterated, and the Greeks had come to apply the term Magian indiscriminately to the various priests and sorcerers of the East; while, as is shown in the note upon the passage, the statement of Hêrodotos admits of another interpretation, and is corrected by his own description of the Magi elsewhere as a Median tribe, neither more nor less sacerdotal than the other five tribes mentioned along with them. Against these doubtful quotations we have the express testimony of Dareios himself, engraved on the rock of Behistun, where he tells us that the Magian

usurpation had destroyed the temples of his gods and the sacred hymns of the Zoroastrian faith.[1]

According to Dr. Oppert the Behistun Inscription further informs us that the Avesta had existed before the days of the Magian revolt, and was restored by Dareios after the revolt was suppressed. He would thus render a clause at the end of the inscription found only in the "Protomedic" transcript: "By the favour of Ormazd I have made elsewhere a collection of texts in the Aryan language, which formerly did not exist. And I have made a text of the law and a commentary on the law, and the prayer and the translations. And this was written, and I promulgated it; then I restored the ancient book in all countries, and the people followed it."[2] The Persian equivalents of "the law" and "the prayer"

[1] Col. i. Par. 14. Persian text: *Ayadaná tyá Gaumáta hya Magush viyaka, adam niyatráyam kárahyá abácharish gaithámchá maniyamchá*, "The temples which Gomates the Magian had destroyed, I rebuilt. I reinstituted for the state both the religious chants and the worship." Babylonian text: *Biti sa ilani sa Gumatu haga-su Magusu ibbulu anaku* (*ultakan*). . . . "The temples of the gods which Gomates the Magian had thrown down I (restored). . . ." Amardian ("Protomedic") text: *Hu sityan annappanna khudda appa Gaumadda akka Makuis's arisda, a'ak hu tassutum-na gatas, a'ak AS, a'ak kurtas*, "I the temples of the gods restored which Gomates the Magian destroyed, and I (re-establish) for the people the hymns and the sacred invocation and the worship." AS is an ideograph which properly means "sacred hymn." *Gaitham*, borrowed by the Elamites under the form of *gatas*, must be connected with the *gâthas* of the Avesta.

[2] The following is the literal rendering of the passage, the meaning of all the words of which is certain except the three written in italics: "By the grace of Ormazd, I have made the writings for others in the Aryan language, which was not done before; and the *text* (?) of the law

are *âbastâ* and *zandi*, "Avesta" and "Zend." Whatever doubt may hang over the renderings of particular words, the general sense of this translation may be accepted; Dareios claims to have restored the ancient writings that had been destroyed or injured by the Magian revolt. It is highly probable that both Kyros and his son, as well as their predecessors, the kings of Anzan, had been almost equally responsible for the loss or neglect of the sacred books; and the fact that the people needed to be "taught" the law implies that among the Persians themselves a knowledge of the sacred texts of Zoroastrianism had been half forgotten. But the Avesta had not yet become a technical term. *Âbastâ* is rendered simply "law" and "laws" in the Elamite and Babylonian versions; it was the pious care of Dareios which first gave it its fixed and restricted sense. His words seem to show that the Zend text was translated into the Old Persian of his western provinces.

We must not suppose, however, that the Avesta was completed at once, or that the beliefs and customs of the Sassanian age were familiar to the Persians in the age of the Akhæmenians. Dareios speaks of other gods by the side of Ormazd; Ormazd is supreme among them; he has created them, like all things else; but nevertheless other gods also exist.

and the knowledge of the law and the *collection* (?) and the . . . I made and wrote, and I sent abroad; then the old writings among all countries I restored *for the sake* (?) of the people."

Temples, too, are erected to him and them, contrary to the later teaching of Mazdeism. The dead were buried, sometimes the living also, and there is no trace of those elaborate regulations in regard to purity which occupy so large a part of the Avesta, and must have been devised, as M. Bréal has shown, at a time when Mazdeism had ceased to be the religion of the state. In fact, the sacred literature of Zoroastrianism was a slow and gradual growth, like the sacred literatures of most other religions.

The five Gâthas or "hymns," written in an older dialect than the rest of the Avesta, form the earliest portion of this literature. They are embodied in the Yasna, which, like the Vispêrad, is a collection of litanies for the sacrifice. Together with the Vendîdad, a compilation of religious laws and mythical tales, the Yasna and Vispêrad make up the Avesta properly so called. By the side of this stands the Khorda Avesta or "Small Avesta," consisting of short prayers, and divided into the five Gâh, the thirty formulæ of the Sirôzah, the three Afrîgân, and the six Nyâyish. To these are generally added the Yashts or hymns of praise, and a number of fragments, of which the most important is the Hadhokht Nosk. The sacredness of the Avesta is to some extent reflected on certain literature written in Pahlavi or mediæval Persian towards the end of the Sassanian period, among which may be named the Bundehesh, an exposition of Mazdean cosmogony

and mythology. This sacred literature, however, is but a fragment of what once existed; according to Parsi tradition, the Vendîdad is the only survivor of the twenty-one Nosks or books which formed the primitive Avesta revealed by Ormazd to Zoroaster, the eighteen Yashts were originally thirty in number, and the Bundehesh has many references which are not found in existing Zend texts. Hermippos[1] analysed 2,000,000 lines in the books of Zoroaster, and Pausanias heard Magian priests singing hymns from a book.[2] A tradition which may be traced back to the Sassanian age asserts that the present Avesta consists of the fragments put together by the priests, partly from memory, after the destruction of the sacred books by Alexander the Great, and the Mohammedan conquest brought with it further injury and loss.

Dr. Oppert thinks that a reference to Angro-Mainyus, the evil spirit, is found in an inscription of Dareios. However this may be, it is pretty clear that the distinctive dualism of Zoroastrian doctrine was already fully developed in Akhæmenian times. The world was divided into the mutually-hostile kingdoms of good and evil, though Ormazd (Ahura-mazda) had originally created all things, and evil would therefore be again swallowed up in the kingdom of good. On the side of Ormazd and the faith-

[1] Pliny, *N. H.* xxx. 1, 2; Diog. Laert. *Proœm.* 8.
[2] v. 27, 3. Cp. Hêrod. i. 132.

ful follower of his prophet stand the Ahuras or "living" spirits, called "gods" by Dareios, and subsequently converted into the Yazatas (Izeds) or angels and the seven Amesha-Spentas (Amshashpands), "the undying and well-doing ones." These, originally identical with the Âdityas of Hindu mythology, became the deified abstractions, Vohu-manô ("good thought"), Asha Vahishta ("excellent holiness"), Khshathra vaviya ("perfect sovereignty"), Spenta Armaiti ("divine piety"), Haurvatât ("health"), and Ameretât ("immortality"). But Armaiti had once been the goddess of earth, like Vayu, the wind-god, who appears in the Gâthas, Varena "the sky," and Mithra "the sun." From the first Varena had been identified with Ormazd, or rather Varena was the supreme being specially invoked as Ahura-mazda, while Mithra became in time his material symbol. Under the Akhæmenian dynasty, however, the complete absorption of Mithra into Ormazd had not yet been effected; and though Dareios shows no taint of Mithra worship, his descendant Artaxerxês Mnêmôn, corrupted by Babylonian superstition, adopted the popular cult, and not only invoked the sun-god Mithra, but even set up images to Anahit or Tanata, the Babylonian Nana, at Susa, at Persepolis, at Ekbatana, at Babylon, at Damascus, at Sardes, and at Baktra. The Mithraic worship of later days, which symbolised the passage of the sun into Taurus by the figure of a bull slain by a man,

was the last survival of a faith that had once penetrated deeply into the minds of the people.

Angro-Mainyus (Ahriman), "the dark spirit," the opponent of Ormazd, was primitively the darkness of night and storm. The Devas, or "gods," who had assisted him in the old mythological combat between night and day, became the demons of Mazdeism, and some of the gods of light also were in time included among them. The archangels and angels of good were matched by those of evil. Ako-manô ("bad thought") opposes Vohu-manô ("good thought"), and with his companions, Sauru, the arrow of death, Indra, once the rain-god of India, Nâunhaithya (the Vedic Dioskuri), Tauru and Zairi, sickness and decay, form the council of the prince of darkness. Whatever Ormazd creates, Ahriman destroys. At the head of the army of Ormazd is the priest-god Sraosha (Serosh), who first offered sacrifice to Ahura and sang the holy hymns. Thrice each day and night he descends to smite Angro-Mainyus and his crew,—the Kahvaredhas and Kahvaredhis, the Kayadhas and Kayadhis, the Zandas and Yatûs, Aêshma ("the raving"), the leader of the Drvants, Drukhs, "destruction," Daivis, "deceit," and Drivis, "poverty." Sraosha dwelt in a palace of a thousand pillars, ornamented without by the stars, lit within by its own light, and reared on the peak of Elburz or Demavend, to which the Olympos of Accadian and Protomedic mythology had been transferred. The legend had

filtered into Mazdeism through a "Protomedic" channel.

The weapons with which the worshipper of Ormazd had to fight against his spiritual foes were prayer, sacrifice, purity, the sacrament of the Haoma, and various ceremonies, among which may be particularised the use of the *khrafsthraghna* or instrument for destroying noxious animals,—the creation of Ahriman,—and the *baresma* (*barsom*) or divining rod, which had played a large part in Accadian religion, and must have been borrowed from the "Protomedic" part of the population. Sacrifice, which consisted partly of offerings, partly of prayers, aided the gods as well as men. The costliest victim was the horse, human sacrifices being ascribed to the Persians by Greek writers erroneously. The flesh of the victim was eaten by the priest and the worshippers; the "soul" of it only was enjoyed by Ormazd. The Haoma was the Soma of the Indians, an intoxicating plant which symbolised the powers of vegetable life, and the juice of which was drunk by the faithful for the benefit of themselves and the gods. Answering to the yellow haoma of earth is the white haoma of heaven, which will make men immortal on the day of resurrection. For the Zoroastrians believed in the immortality of the soul, and at least as early as the time of Theopompos[1] in a resurrection of the body. It was from them that

[1] Diog. Laert. *Proœm.* 9; Æn. Gaz. *Dial. de anim. immort.* p. 77.

Mohammed borrowed the notion of the narrow bridge (*chinvat peretu*) which the soul of the good passed safely by the help of Sraosha, while the wicked fell from it into the bottomless pit of Angro-Mainyus. Fire was from the first the sacred element; it was the material manifestation of Ormazd, and nothing was allowed to pollute it. At one time, no doubt, fire itself was worshipped, like the primitive Aryan hearth on which it had originally blazed, and Âtar, the fire-god, held high rank among the Zoroastrians; but eventually it became the medium through which the worshipper approached his deity. Earth and water were also reverenced, and since a corpse would have defiled these sacred elements, it was left to be devoured by the beasts and birds. The dog was a sacred animal, perhaps because of his scavenger-like habits; but it is now difficult to explain the principles upon which certain animals were handed over to Ormazd and certain others to Ahriman.

The existence of the world was held to be limited. After 12,000 years it was to end in winter or storm, to be followed by an eternal spring, when the earth would be repeopled by the risen bodies of the righteous. It is possible that this doctrine was taught as early as the time of Dareios. But a later date must be assigned to the further conception of the final victory of good and absorption of evil into it. This conception led to the pure monotheism which believed that above and beyond both Ormazd

and Ahriman there was one abiding principle, called by various sects, Space or Infinite Light or Fate or Zṛvan akarana, "boundless time." The early date, however, at which the belief grew up may be judged from the fact that Eudêmos, the pupil of Aristotle, already makes time and space the first principles of the Magi.[1] But it is unknown to the greater part of the Avesta, from which we may infer the age of the latter. This is not the only instance in which we can assign a relative date to different portions of the sacred book. When the tenth Fargard or chapter of the Vendîdad was written, and the nineteenth Yasht composed, the opposition between the six archangels and the six arch-fiends, mentioned in the Bundehesh and already found in Plutarch, was unknown, and, as M. Darmesteter says, "the stars were not yet members of the Ormazdean army when the bulk of the eighth Yasht was compiled." But the old opposition between the *âthrava* or Mazdean priest and the *magus* or "Protomedic" sorcerer was already passing away; under the unifying influences of the Persian empire magian and priest became inextricably confounded; the magian adopted the outlines of the Zoroastrian faith, and in later days hardened them into a system of sacerdotal laws and lifeless ceremonies; while the priest took over the beliefs of the older population, modifying and altering them in the process. Thus, as M. Lenormant

[1] Ap. Damascium, ed. Kopp 384.

has shown, the spirits of the shamanistic cult of Accad and Elam were changed into the fravashis or fervers of Mazdeism, the genii which correspond with all created things, and watch over the servants of Ormazd.

A rich mythology was associated with the religion of Zoroaster. The cosmogony of his followers and the successive creations of Ormazd, the places, possibly, occupied by the Iranians in their westward migration, may be read in the Bundehesh and the first fargard of the Vendîdad. The paradise of the Aryan races was laid in Airyanem vaêjo, between the Oxus and Jaxartes, where they were ruled in the golden age by Yima, the son of Vivanghvat,—called Yama, son of Vivasvat, in the Veda,—the first man, the lord of the departed, originally the evening darkness. In the Shahnameh of Firdusi, the great Epic of mediæval Persia, Yima became Jemshid. But the sovereign light, the *hwarenô*, was carried off from Yima Khshaêta, "the shining Yima," by the three-headed serpent of night, Azhi-dahâka, the biting snake, the tyrant Zohak of Firdusi's epic. Thraêtaona, the son of Athwyô, was the chosen hero who subdued the monster, and whom the Shahnameh has changed into Feridun. Born in the "four-cornered Varena" or heaven, he is the Vedic Traitana or Trita Âptya, "the dawn, the son of the waters," whose name reappears in the Homeric epithet of Athena, *τριτογένεια*. The serpent was

bound to the highest peak of Demâvend, not to be loosed till the end of the world, when he will be slain by Keresâspa, the Gershasp of Firdusi, the Krishâshva of Hindu legend. Keresâspa has already killed other monstrous creations of Ahriman, Shravara, the Greek Kerberos, among them, and his reign restored the glory of that of Yima. When Azhi-dahâka is finally slain, a son, Saoshyant, will be born to Zoroaster who will bring eternal life and light to glorified mankind, as his father once brought them the law and the truth.

Art and Literature.—Persian art was derived from Babylonia through that of Susiana. But it lacked the humorous freedom of Babylonian art; it was stiff, severe, and formal. The carved gems were poor imitations of those of Chaldea; even the signet of Dareios is rudely cut, and shows little artistic skill. The palaces were raised on lofty platforms like those of Babylonia, where such a protection from the marshy ground was needful; and the platforms were adorned with broad, handsome flights of stairs which led to their top. The buildings which stood on them were comparatively small and low, but this was compensated by a profusion of light and elegant columns. The columns, again, were due to Babylonian inspiration, and their capitals, with sitting figures of animals, placed back to back and turned sideways towards the spectators, resemble those of Babylon and Nineveh. The colouring of

the walls and ceilings was also borrowed from Babylonia, and the bas-reliefs with which the walls were ornamented find their counterpart in the palaces of Assyria. But the subjects were treated in Babylonian and not Assyrian style; Gizdhubar, transformed into a Persian hero, again slays the demon monster with all the thickness of limb that characterised Babylonian art, and the Babylonian rosette makes its appearance everywhere. On the other hand, the long processions of men and animals, the winged solar disk that symbolises Ormazd, and the struggle between the lion and the bull, remind us of Assyria, though the treatment is thoroughly Babylonian. We feel that the same Accadian artists who inspired the art of Babylonia must have inspired the art of Persia as well as the lost art of Elam which preceded it. As in Babylonia, the animal figures are better than the human ones. The winged bulls which guard the entrances of the palaces are Assyrian; not so, however, the fashion of ornamenting the panels of the doorways with figures in relief. On the whole, Persian work in relief is clumsy, but vigorous.

The same substantial solidity characterises the architecture, in spite of the forests of pillars, by which its general effect was lightened. The platforms and staircases are alike massive, the walls are thick, the doors too narrow for their height. On the other hand, a spirit of harmony and proportion is everywhere observable. The doors exactly face

each other; the columns are erected in uniform rows. Egyptian influence may perhaps be detected in the propylæa through which the royal palaces were approached, as well as in the head-dress of the man who has the attributes of the winged Asiatic goddess on one of the pillars of the tomb falsely ascribed to Kyros at Murghâb.

Persian architecture may best be studied in the remains of the palace near Persepolis, burnt by Alexander. The buildings erected on the different terraces which form the platform were not connected with one another. Of the five largest buildings, one was the palace of Dareios, the second that of Xerxês, and the third that of Artaxerxês Okhos, while the other two are known as the Chehl Minár or hall of a hundred columns—supported as it was by a hundred columns in ten rows of ten, each thirty-five feet high and twenty feet distant from its companion—and the Eastern Palace. The latter contains four groups of pillars, the largest being a square of thirty-six pillars in six rows of six, and covering an area of over 20,000 square feet. The rooms seem to have been built round the walls of the several palaces, while a portico of columns fronted the visitor.

The tombs of the Persian monarchs consisted of chambers cut out of the rock, that at Murghâb alone excepted.

Persian literature has perished, with the exception of the older parts of the Avesta, though the

references to it in Hêrodotos, Ktêsias, and other classical writers, show that a good deal once existed. The so-called historical literature, however, seems to have resembled Firdusi's Shahnameh, or the histories of foreign nations given by Arabic authors, and to have been mostly legendary. The cursive writing employed for this literature is unknown. The cuneiform alphabet, used for monumental purposes, was probably introduced in the reign of Dareios. The tomb at Murghâb, which bears the cuneiform legend, "I am Kyros, the king, the Akhæmenian," cannot belong to the older Kyros, since Murghâb was not Pasargadæ, where he was buried. It is possibly the sepulchre of the satrap of Egypt, the brother of Xerxês, who is called Akhæmenês by Ktêsias. This would explain the Egyptian head-dress of the sculpture which adorns it. It may, however, have been intended to commemorate a cult of Kyros; at any rate, the figure represented in the sculptures is not that of a human being, but of a god. The cuneiform alphabet was last employed by Artaxerxês Okhos.

Trade and Manners.—The Persians were not a commercial people, and the trade of the empire was therefore left in the hands of their subjects. The coinage of Dareios was, however, remarkably pure. Various devices were cut upon one side of the coin, but the only inscription known is one in Greek letters which records the name Pythagoras. Pytha-

goras may have been a captain of the mercenaries, since a Greek inscription on the upturned base of a column at Susa is dedicated by "Pythagoras, son of Aristarkhos, captain of the bodyguard," to "his friend Arreneides, the son of Arreneides, governor of Susiana." Attic coins were allowed to pass current in Persia, after being impressed with a mark in the shape of a bar.

The Persian form of government after the reign of Dareios has already been described (p. 442). Its nearest parallel in modern times is that of the Turkish empire. But the exaggerated flattery and meanspirited subservience of the Persian towards his monarch would be hard to match. His dress implied a cold climate. Drawers and boots were worn by all classes, stockings and gloves by the rich. Horses were largely employed both in war and in peace, and the Persian bowmen were celebrated. Spiked balls were strewn over the field of battle by Dareios Kodomannos, and there were six ranks of military officers under the commander-in-chief, who was always a Persian or a Mede. Prisoners of war were treated kindly, unless they happened to be rebels. The luxury and etiquette of the court were proverbial. The harem was guarded by a dense body of eunuchs, and the king seldom emerged from the secresy of his palace. Cooks and "tasters" abounded, and the king reclined on a couch with golden feet, drinking the wine of Helbon, while an inferior bever-

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